Syn. B. 63.73

THE CAVSE OF the Greatneſſe of CITIES.

THREE BOOKES.

WITH Certaine Obſervations concerning the SEA.

Written in Italian, by IOHN BOTERO: *And tranſlated into Engliſh by* Sir T. H.

LONDON,
Printed by *E. P.* for *Henry Seile*, dwelling at the Tygers head, in St. *Pauls* Church-yard.
1635.

THE
CAUSE OF
the Greatness of
CITIES.

BY
THOMAS BOOKER.

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THE CAVSE OF the Greatneſſe of CITIES.

The firſt Booke.

CHAP. I.

What thing a great Citie is.

A Citie, is called an Aſſembly of Men, brought together to live happily: and, Greatneſſe of a Citie, is tearmed not the ſpaci-

ouſneſſe of ſcituation, or compaſſe of Walls; but the multitude of Inhabitants, and their power. Now, men are drawne together, moved thereunto, eyther by authority, force, pleaſure, or utilitie, which may ariſe.

Chap. II.

Of Authoritie.

Cain was the firſt Author of Cities. But Poets, imitated therein by *Cicero*, fable, That in elder Ages, men ſcattered here and there, on Hills and Plaines, led a life little different from brute beaſts, without Law, conformitie of Cuſtomes, or faſhion of civill converſation. Afterward, there were ſome, who having with their wiſe-

wiſedome and eloquence purchaſed much Authoritie, and Reputation amongſt them; that ſhewed to the rude multitude, what, and how great profit they might enjoy, if retiring themſelves into one place, they would be united into one Body, for the mutuall communication of all things, which might ariſe. And by this meanes, they founded firſt Hamlets, and Villages; afterward, Townes, and Cities. Whereupon the ſame Poets fained, that *Orpheus* and *Amphion* drew after them Beaſts, Woods, and Stones, under this Cloud, ſignifying the groſſe wits, and rough manners of thoſe Nations. But fables layd apart, it is read of *Theſeus*, That ſo ſoone as hee had undertaken the *Athenian* Government, hee reſolved to unite all his people into one

Citie; who diſperſed into many Villages, inhabited that Countrey: which hee, by ſhewing them the great benefit would enſue, eaſily brought to paſſe. The like is practiſed at this day continually, in *Braſile*: The people inhabit ſcatteringly here and there, in Dennes or Caverns (rather than Houſes) of Boughes and Leaves of Palme-trees. And becauſe this manner of living ſo diſperſedly, is the cauſe that theſe people remaine in their former ſavageneſſe of mind, and crueltie of life: and withall, inſomuch as it importeth infinite difficulties, to the preaching of the Goſpel, and Civill Government; the *Portugals*, and the Fathers of the Societie, uſe their beſt endeavours, to reduce them together, in certaine fit and convenient places; where living civilly,

civilly, they may with the more facilitie be instructed by those Fathers in the Rules of Faith, and governed by the Kings Officers. There may also be reduced to this Head, those Cities, which have beene builded by Power, and inhabited by the authoritie of great Princes, or famous Common-wealths: For the *Grecians*, and *Phœnicians*, were founders of infinite Cities; *Alexander* the Great, and divers other Kings, of many; which the *Alexandria's*, the *Ptolemaides*, the *Antiochia's*, the *Lysimachia's*, the *Philipopoli's*, the *Demetriad's*, *Cæsaria's*, *Augusta's*, *Sebastia's*, *Agrippina's*, *Manfredonia's*; and in our time, *Cosmopolis*, and the Citie of the *Sunne* doe preve. But none deserve in this point greater commendation (*Alexander* onely

excepted, who built more than 70) than *Seleucus*; who (beſides many other) founded three Cities, called *Apamia's*, to the honour of his Wife; and five *Laodicea's*, in memorie of his Mother; to his owne Name, five *Seleucia's*; and in all, more than thirtie.

Chap. III.

Of Force.

MEn are aſſembled in one place, by force, and neceſſitie, when any imminent perill, eſpecially of Warre, or Exile, or irrecoverable Deſolation, inviteth them thereunto, to put their lives and fortunes in ſafegard: And ſuch ſecuritie is found in mountainous,

nous, rough, mariſh, or Ilandiſh places, or other of that ſort, which are almoſt inacceſſible. After the Deluge, men fearing leſt the like ruine ſhould happen againe, ſecured themſelves; ſome, with making their Habitations on Mountaine-tops; ſome, by rearing Towers of incredible height, and greatneſſe, to the Skyes: And without all doubt, in this reſpect, Cities built upon Hills, are moſt ennobled by antiquitie; and Towers are the ancienteſt forme of Building, which ever hath beene in uſe. But after that the feare of a new Inundation vaniſhed, men began to deſcend lower, and to make their Habitations on the Plaines; untill the terrour of Armes, and dread of fierce and cruell Nations, enforced them againe to ſave themſelves on high

high Mountaines, in the Ilands of the Sea, or in Fennes, and ſuch like places. When the *Mores* aſſaulted *Spaine*, and brought it into miſerable ſervitude; thoſe who ſurvived the ſlaughter, retyred themſelves to the ſteepie Mountaines of *Biſcay*, and *Ayragon*; other imbarking themſelves, fled to the Iland of *Seven Cities*; ſo called, becauſe ſeven Biſhops, with their people, there remained. The Ruine which *Tamberlane* brought with him, was the cauſe the people of *Perſia*, and the bordering Nations, abandoning their ancient Soyle, (as Birds amazed) ſaved themſelves by flight; ſome, upon the Mount *Taurus*; other, upon *Antitaurus*; and others, in the Ilands of the *Caſpian* Sea. And as at the *Sclavonians* arrivall, the people of *Iſtria* retyred into

into the Iland of *Capraria*, and there built *Justinopolis*: so the Nations of *Gallia Transpadana*, at the entrance of the *Lombards* into *Italy*, saved themselves amongst the Marishes; where, they founded *Crema*. But because there was not, with the strength of the places aforesaid, conjoyned, conveniencie of Territorie, Trade, Pleasure, or important Entertainment, there never hath beene any famous Citie. But if the places where men are assembled by necessitie, have (besides securitie) some especiall Commoditie, it will easily come to passe, they may encrease in People, Riches, and Habitations. So, many Cities of the East, and of *Barbary*, are growne great, by the multitude of *Jewes*, expelled by *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, and *Emanuel* King of

Por-

Portugall: and in particular, *Rhodes*, and *Salonichi*. In our dayes, many Cities of *England* are augmented, in People, and Trade, by the flight of the Subjects of the Catholique King, from the *Low-Countries*; chiefely *London*, where are retyred many thouſand Families. About the yeere of our Lord 900 whilſt the *Saracens* ſacked *Genoa*, and burnt the adjacent Territorie, *Piſa* incredibly encreaſed; becauſe there was joyned to the ſtrength of the place, fertilitie of Soyle, and commodiouſneſſe of Trade. At the comming of *Attila* into *Italy*, the *Lombards* terrified with the horrible deſolation he threatned, ſaved themſelves in the Ilands of the *Adriatique* Sea, and there built divers Cities, and Communities. And afterward, in the

Warre

Warre waged by *Pepin*; they abandoning their unsafest scituations, as *Aquileia*, *Heraclea*, *Palestina*, *Malamoro*, were united neere *Rialto*, into one Body. Thus *Venice* became great.

Chap. IV.

Of ruinating the bordering Nations.

THe *Romans* being desirous in all kindes to encrease their Countrey, judicially making use of Force, did despoyle and utterly desolate the neighbouring Nations, thereby to constraine them to transferre themselves, and abide at *Rome*. So *Tullus Hostilius* layd *Alba*, a most potent Citie, levell with the ground: *Tarquinius*

nius Priſcus overthrew *Coriniola*, a Citie of infinite wealth. *Servius Tullius* deſtroyed *Pometia*. In the time of libertie, they ſubdued *Veio*, a Citie of ſuch importance, and power, that hardly, after tenne yeeres ſiege, was it rather by policie, than force, overthrowne. Now theſe and ſuch like people, not having where to inhabit, nor to live ſecurely, were enforced to exchange their Countrey, with *Rome*: which, by this meanes, marvellouſly encreaſed, both in People, and Riches.

CHAP.

Chap. V.

Of leading people from their Countrey, to our Citie.

A Meanes not unlike the former, but somewhat more pleasing, the *Romans* used, to people and encrease their Citie; which was, by calling them all, or the greater part of them, home to *Rome*, whom they had vanquished by Armes. So, *Romulus* invited thither the *Cenonses*, the *Antennates*, the *Crustumini*. But no Nation more amplified the Citie, than the *Sabines*: for hee encountring them in battaile, after tedious and hard conflicts, concluded a Peace; the condition whereof was, That *Tatius* their

their King, with his Subjects, ſhould come to inhabit at *Rome:* which he did, chuſing *Campidoglio* and Mount *Quirinal* for his ſtation. The ſame courſe alſo tooke *Ancus Martius*, who gave Mount *Aventine* to the *Latines*, tranſported thither from *Politorio*, *Tellena*, and *Ficana*. The great *Tamberlan* enlarged *Samarcanda*, by drawing thither the moſt ingenious handy-craftſmen, from the Cities by him ſurprized. And the *Ottomans*, to make great, and enrich *Conſtantinople*, have thither brought, from Cities by them ſubdued, many thouſand of Families, eſpecially of Artificers: as *Mahomet* the ſecond, from *Trepiſond*; *Selim* the firſt, from *Cairo*; and *Solyman*, from *Tauris*.

CHAP.

Chap. VI.

Of Pleasure.

MEn likewise are assembled together, for the delight which eyther naturall scituation, or Art affordeth. Naturall scituation; for the freshnesse of Ayre, delight of Vales, shadinesse of Woods, commoditie of Game, abundance of Water: With which benefits, *Antiochia* in *Soria* is richly endowed; and no lesse *Damasco*, and *Bursia*, in *Bithynia*; *Cordnba*, and *Sivill*, in *Spaine*; and other, elsewhere. To Art, appertaine the straightnesse of streetes, and passages of the Citie; the Buildings, both for workmanship, and substance, magnificent; the Theatres, Amphitheatres,

phitheatres, Galleries, Liſts, Tilt-yards, Fountaines, Statues, Pictures, and other things excellent and admirable. The Citie of *Theſpia* was frequented, for the curioſitie of *Cupids* Statue: *Samos*, for the marvellous greatneſſe of a Temple; *Alexandria*, for the *Pharos*; *Memphis*, for the *Pyramides*; *Rhodes*, for the *Coloſſus*. And how many, may wee beleeve, went to *Babylon*, to behold the Wonder of her Walls. The *Romans* went voluntarily often, to ſpend ſome time at *Syracuſe*, *Mitilene*, *Smyrna*, *Rhodes*, and *Pergamus*, invited by the ſweetneſſe of Ayre, and beautie of thoſe Cities. Finally, all that, which feedeth the eye, delighteth the ſence, and entertaineth curioſitie: all that, which affordeth any thing new, unuſuall, extra-

ordinarie,

ordinarie, admirable, great, or artificiall, fitly appertaineth to this. And amongst all the Cities of *Europe*, for the pleasure they abundantly yeeld, *Rome* and *Venice* are most frequented: that, for the wonderful Reliques of her ancient Greatnesse; this, for the splendour of her present Magnificence. On the one side, *Rome* filleth mens mindes with amazement, and delight, for the sumptuousnesse of Aquiducts, Bathes, Colosses; for the exactnesse of admirable Workes, carved by curious Artificers, in Brasse, and Marble; for the height, and thicknesse of Obeliskes; for the multitude, and varietie of Pillars; for the diversitie and fineness of chequered forraine Marbles, and *African* Stones; Porphyrie, Alablaster, white Marbles, blacke, smooth,

ſmooth, yellow, party-coloured; Serpentine, beſides alſo, Jaſper; with ſo many ſorts, that to recount them, would be a thing difficult; and to diſtinguiſh them, meerely impoſſible. What ſhall I ſay of their Triumphall Arkes, Colizeos, Statues, Temples? And what of many other Miracles? And what may wee ſuppoſe her to have beene, when ſhee flouriſhed, and triumphed; if now, when ſhe lyeth, and is no other but a Sepulchre of her ſelfe, ſhee yet entertaineth and inſatiably feedeth us with her ruine? On the other ſide, *Venice*, with the admiration of her incomparable ſcituation, which ſeemeth to be framed by Nature, to predominate over the Water, and to curbe the Ocean, enforceth no leſſe wonder. The greatneſſe beſides of the ineſtimable

mable Arſenall; the multitude of Shippes of Warre, Trade, and Paſſengers; the incredible number of Engines, Ordnance, Munition, and of all Navall preparations; the height of Turrets, the riches of Churches, the magnificence of Pallaces, the faireneſſe of Market-places, the varietie of Arts, the order of Government; the handſomeneſſe of Men, and beautie of Women, dazeleth the eyes of all beholders.

Chap. VII.

Of Vtilitie.

VTilitie is of ſuch force, to co-unite Men in one place; that other means, without the aſſiſtance of it, are not

not ſufficient to make any Citie great. Not Authoritie: For, if there be not conveniencie in the place, where many men by anothers Authoritie are aſſembled together, never will they there abide. Not Neceſſitie: For, the number of men, in many yeares, multiplyes, and augmenteth: beſides, Neceſſitie implyeth ſomewhat violent; and Violence cannot poſſibly produce durable effects. Whereby happeneth, that, as not onely Cities encreaſe not; ſo, in like ſort, States, and Dominions, purchaſed by meere force, and violence, are not long maintained: Therein, like unto Torrents, which have no originall Head, as Rivers have, that inceſſantly feed them with water; but caſually, and in an inſtant, now they riſe, preſently they fall:

ſo

so that being in their swelling inundation feareſull to Travellers, presently they sinke againe, and may be passed dry-foot. Such were the Conquests of the *Tartars*, who so often subjugated *Asia*: Of *Alexander* the Great, *Attila*, of Great *Tamberlane*; *Charles* the eight, and *Lewis* the twelfth, Kings of *France*. The reason whereof is, because our nature is so thirstie, and desirous of profit, that it is impossible to pacifie and content it, with no more than what is necessarie. And as Plants, although firmely rooted in the ground, cannot long flourish, and endure, without Heavens benignitie, and the benefit of Raine: so the communities of men, begun by meere necessitie, long are not maintained, if profit thereunto bee not adjoyned.

Much leſſe then availeth Pleaſure, and Delight: For man is borne to labour, and the greater part attend affaires; the idle are few, and of no eſtimation: Beſides, Idleneſſe is grounded on the labours and endeavours of the induſtrious; and Pleaſure cannot perſiſt, without profit: of which, it may be tearmed (as it were) the fruit. Now, ſuppoſing Utilitie be the ſame; whence, as from a primarie cauſe, the greatneſſe of a Citie proceedeth: becauſe this Utilitie is not ſimple, and of its owne nature, but conſiſting of divers formes, and manners; it reſteth, wee ſee what ſort of profit, or commoditie, beſt agreeth with our preſent purpoſe. Let us conclude then; That to make a Citie great, conveniencie of Scituation, fertilitie of Land,

facilitie

facilitie of Paſſage, are moſt requiſite.

Chap. VIII.

Of conveniencie of Scituation.

Convenient Scituation, I tearme that, which is in ſuch a place where many people may bee employed in Traffique; both to vent forth thoſe Commodities, which are ſuperfluous; and to returne ſuch, as are wanting. Whereupon, this Scituation being betweene the one, and the other, participateth (as the meane) and is enriched by the extreames. I have called it (participation of the meane) becauſe otherwiſe, a Cities greatneſſe cannot be

effected: whereby, either it will remaine deſolate; or not approached unto, but by one ſimple Paſſage. *Derbent*, a Citie ſtanding in the *Caſpian* Seas entrance, is a moſt convenient place, to goe from *Perſia* into *Tartaria*, and from *Tartaria* into *Perſia*: notwithſtanding, it never hath beene a great Citie; and in our dayes, it is of ſmall account. The reaſon is, becauſe it participateth not of the extreames, but ſerves onely for Paſſage: receiving thoſe onely, that travell backward, and forward; not as Merchants, or Trades-men, but as Paſſengers, and Travellers. Finally, it is ſituated in a neceſſarie Station, but not profitable. For the ſame reſpect, in the Straits of the *Alpes*, which for the moſt part environ *Italy*; although the

French,

French, *Switzers*, *Germans*, and *Italians* continually passe over them; yet never hath there beene good Towne, much lesse great Citie. The like may be said of many other places. *Sues* is necessarie for those, that come from the *Indies* by the Red Sea, to *Cairo*; the Iland of Saint *James*, *Palma*, and *Terçera*, are necessarie for the *Portugals*, and *Spaniards*, in the Navigation of the *Indies*, *Brasile*, and the New World; yet never is, nor at any time will be, in those places any important Citie: neither also in the Ilands scituate betweene *Denmarke*, and *Swethland*; and betweene the *German* Ocean, and the *Baltique* Sea. Yea, *Flushing*, although placed in a Passage of incredible necessitie, for Trade betweene the *Flemish*, *English*, and other Nati-

ons; yet it is but a ſmall Towne. On the contrarie, *Genoa* is a great Citie, and ſo is *Venice*; becauſe they participate of the extreames, and ſerve not onely for Paſſage, but rather for Store-houſes, and Treaſuries: So *Lisbone*, *Antwerpe*, and divers other. It ſufficeth not then, the Scituation, which ſhould adde Greatneſſe to a Citie, be neceſſarie; it behooveth alſo, it be profitable to the bordering Nations.

Chap. IX.

Of the Fertilitie of Land.

THe ſecond Cauſe of the Greatneſſe of a Citie, is, Fertilitie of Countrey: For mans life conſiſting of Victuall,

tuall, and Apparell; and both the one and the other being derived from thoſe things which the Earth produceth: how can the Fertilitie of Soyle, but infinitely availe thereunto? If this then be ſo great, which not only ſupplyeth to the maintenance of the Inhabitants, but conduceth alſo to the ſuſtentation of the neighbour borderers; it will therefore be ſo much the more for our purpoſe. But becauſe every Soyle yeeldeth not every thing; ſo much a Territorie will be more ſufficient, and apter to make a great Citie, by how much the more it is rich, and fruitfull of moſt things; for ſo much the leſſe ſhall it need from other: which cauſeth people to travell into forraine parts, and to attribute more to others, which attracteth neighbours in-

to our Countries. But Fertilitie of Land is not alone ſufficient, to cauſe a Cities Greatneſſe: for, wee ſee Provinces abundant in all things, that have no great Citie. For example, *Piemont*; than which, there is not in all *Italy* a Territorie yeeldeth greater plentie of Corne, Fleſh, Wine, and excellent Fruits of all ſorts: Proved, by the maintenance ſo many yeeres of the Armies, conſiſting of *French* and *Spaniſh* Forces. And in *England* (*London* onely excepted) although the Countrey be very fertile, yet is there not any Citie worthy to be called Great. Neither alſo in *France*; *Paris* excepted: which notwithſtanding, is not ſcituate in the fatteſt Soyle of this ample Kingdome: For, it is ſurpaſſed by *Touraine*, in pleaſantneſſe; by *Xantoigne*,

and

and *Poictou*, in plentie; by *Languedoc*, in varietie of Fruits; by *Normandie*, in the commoditie of Sea; by *Burgundie*, in store of Wines; by *Champaigne*, in abundance of Corne; and by the Countie of *Orleans*, in both the one and other; by *Brittaine*, and the Territorie of *Bourges*, in Flesh. It is not then sufficient the Territorie be fertile, to make a Citie Great: the reason is, because where the Countrey is plentifull, and abundant, the Inhabitants finding at home all that which is either necessarie, or profitable, (secure in themselves) have no occasion to travell further; but enjoy it, without toyle, where it groweth: Such being the nature of man, to affect those things which are purchased with least disturbance. This, therefore, being to

be had at home, to what purpoſe ſhould wee travell, to ſeeke it elſewhere? And this reaſon is ſo much the more forcible, by how much the people are leſſe addicted to Pleaſures. Plentie, then, of Commodities, is not ſufficient to gather much people together: there is requiſite, beſides it, ſome forme, to co-unite them in one place; which is, facilitie, and conveniencie of Paſſage.

Chap. X.

Of conveniencie of Paſſage.

THis conveniencie is afforded us, partly, by the Land, partly, by the Water. By the Land, if it be plaine: For, ſo Merchandize, and

and Trade of all ſorts, is eaſily brought thither, on Carts, Horſes, Mules, and other Beaſts of Burthen; and thereby, men with leſſe difficultie, travell on Foot, on Horſebacke, in Coaches, and other ſuch meanes. The *Portugals* write, That in many Champaine Plaines of *China*, they uſe Chariots with Sayles: which, not long ſince, one tryed in *Spaine*. Conveniencie is afforded us by Water, if it be Navigable: and more, without compariſon, availeth the conveniencie wee receive by Water, than that the Land giveth us; both for facilitie, and expedition. For in leſſe time, without proportion, and ſmaller expence, and labour, great Burthens are tranſported, from parts farre remote, by Water than by Land. Now, Water Navigable, is either Sea, River,

River, or Lake, which are the true naturall meanes; or Channels, and Pooles, (as *Meröe* in *Ægypt*, which encompaſſed foure hundred and fiftie miles) made by the art and induſtrie of man. And aſſuredly, it ſeemeth, that God created Water, not onely as an element neceſſarie for Natures perfection; but alſo as an apt and opportune meanes, for tranſportation of Commodities from one Countrey to another. For his Divine Majeſtie deſirous men mutually ſhould embrace one another, as members of the ſame Body, diſtributed Commodities in ſuch ſort, that to no one Country gave he all things: to the end, the one needing the other, and they againe enterchangeably the reſt, communitie ſhould ariſe; from communitie, love;

love; from love, union. And the better to facilitate this communication, hee created Water of nature, and ſubſtance; for groſſeneſſe, apt to beare weightie Burthens; and for liquidneſſe, aſſiſted by the Winde, and Oare, able to conduct them whereſoever they would. So, that by this meanes, the Eaſt is combined with the Weſt, the South with the North. Whereupon aptly may be ſaid, That what groweth in one place, for eaſines of transfretation, growes every where. Now, without queſtion, the Sea, for the greatneſſe thereof, (as it were immenſe, and for vaſtneſſe of Waters, unſpeakable) is of greater profit, than Lakes, or Rivers. But little availeth the Sea, if there be not a capacious and ſecure Port. Capacious, I tearme it,

it, for largeneſſe and depth in the entrance, middle, and extreames. Secure, I ſay, either from all blaſts, the greater part, or at leaſt, the moſt tempeſtuous. It is thought, that amongſt all the Windes, the North is the leaſt violent; and that the Sea, ſtirred with the North-eaſt, is becalmed againe with the Windes ceſſation. But Southerne gales vexe and turmoile it; as the *Venetian* Gulph manifeſtly proveth: Which alſo, when the Windes are aſſwaged, ſurge, and ruffle impetuouſly. Now, a Port is ſecure, either by Nature, as that of *Meſſina*, or *Marſeilles*; or by Art, the imitatrice of Nature, as that of *Genoa*, and *Palermo*. Lakes are, as it were, little Seas; whereby they, to their proportion of greatneſſe, and other conveni-

ences,

ences, are of much availe for the frequentation of places. As may be seene in New *Spaine*; where, the Lake of *Mexico*, ninetie miles in circuit, is adorned with fiftie great Townes: amongst which, is the great *Temistitan*, Metropolis of that ample Kingdome. Rivers also are of good importance; especially, such as runne with the most spacious currents, thorow the richest Territories, and most tradable: as *Po*, in *Italy*; *Schelde*, in *Flanders*; *Loyre*, and *Seine*, in *France*; *Danow*, and *Rheine*, in *Germanie*. And as Lakes are certaine little semblances of Bosomes and Gulphes of the Sea, framed by Nature; so Channels, into which the water of Lakes or Rivers is drawne, are undoubted imitations, and as it were delineations of Rivers themselves, made

made by men. The ancient Kings of *Ægypt* made a Ditch, which ſtretched from *Nilus* to the Citie of *Nobles*: and they ſought to draw a Channell from the Red Sea to the *Mediterranean*, to combine our Sea with the *Indian* Ocean, for the more eaſie paſſage of Trade, and readieſt meanes to enrich their Countrey. It is alſo a thing well knowne, how often tryall was made to breake the *Iſthmus*, ſo to unite the *Ionian* Sea with the *Ægean*. A Soldan of *Cayro* drew a Channell from *Euphrates* to the Citie of *Aleppo*. In *Flanders*, at *Gaunt*, *Bruges*, and divers other places, are to be ſeene many Channels forced by Art, and ineſtimable expence, but of much more profit, for facilitie of Merchandize, and Trade of people. In *Lombardie* alſo

also many Cities discreetly have purchased this conveniencie: but none more, than *Milan*; which, with a Channell, not unworthie *Romes* magnificence, draweth to it the waters of *Tesin*, and *Lago maggiore*, and by this meanes infinitely is enriched with Trade: and by another Channell also derived from the River *Adda*, is aided, for carriage home of the fruits and commodities of that abundant Territorie. Yea, much more it would be bettered, if the Channels of *Pavia* and *Jurea* were cleansed. Now, besides length of course, (before spoken of) depth, pleasingnesse, solidnesse of water, and largenesse in Channels, and Rivers for facilitie of passage, and Traffique, is of great moment. Depth, because deepe waters beare the greatest Burthens,

thens, and the Navigation is performed with leſſe danger. Pleaſingneſſe, becauſe it expediteth journeyes up, and downe, and at every turne, wherein it ſeemes to ſome thoſe men ſayled, who drew out the Channell which comes from *Teſin* to *Milan*; becauſe with the great fall and large ſcope given to the water, it is ſo ſwift and rapid, that with much uneaſineſſe, and loſſe of time, wee ſayle upward. But as for Rivers, Nature hath ſhewed her ſelfe moſt benigne to *France*, and the *Low-Countries*: For in *France*, the Rivers for the moſt part, quietly and calmely glide; and therefore are ſayled backward, and forward, with incredible facilitie; beſides, moſt of them ariſing out of Plaines, it maketh their courſe not violent: They alſo runne not

not amongſt Mountaines, nor ſhort ſpaces, but many hundred miles, by open diſtended Champaines; where (as it were) wantonly, now ſtretching, now implicating their courſe; here with pacing forward, there retyring backe, they enrich divers Cities, and Territories, with the tribute of their waters. But there is not any Region in *Europe* better accommodated with Rivers, than that part of *Belgia*, called *Flanders*: There, the *Scheld*, *Meuſe*, *Moſell*, *Tener*, *Roer*, and *Rhein*, divided into three great Armes, pleaſingly glide, croſſe, and overthwart this Province; enriching it, by the commodiouſneſſe of Navigation, with Trade, and infinite Treaſure. Which in *Italy* is wanting: for it being long, ſtraight, and divided, as it were, thorow the middle, with Mount

Ap-

Appennine, the Rivers thereof, through ſhortneſſe of courſe, cannot much augment, nor leſſen, their violent current. The Rivers of *Lombardie* doe all (as it were) ariſe either out of the *Alpes*; as *Teſin*, *Adda*, *Lambro*, *Serio*, *Adige*: or from the *Appennine*; as *Tarro*, *Lenza*, *Panaro*, *Rheno*: and in a ſhort courſe, wherein they deſerve rather the titles of Torrents, than names of Rivers, they finde *Po*; who journeyeth betweene the *Appennine*, and the *Alpes*; by which meanes, hee onely is navigable. For traverſing this Province at full length, hee hath time and ſpace to be amplified and enriched with the aſſiſtance of many Rivers, and to moderate his naturall ſwiftneſſe with the long voyage he maketh; yet, becauſe the ſaid Rivers, by the ſhortneſſe

of

of their ſtreame, ruſh into him with impetuous violence, they often ſo ſwell and infeſt him, that hee becommeth not onely formidable to Countrey Villages, but to the moſt ſtrongly fortified Cities. But the Riuers of *Romagna*, and other parts of *Italy*, falling like vehement Torrents, on this ſide and that ſide of the *Appennine*, haſtily meet the *Adriatique*, *Tyrrhenian*, or *Ionian* Seas; whereby moſt of them have not time nor ſpace to mitigate their furie, or to be augmented, ſo much as would be requiſite for Navigation: For which cauſe, the ſmall portion of *Arno*, or *Tyber*, that is navigable, is of no account. Solidneſſe of water alſo is very much availing: for there is no doubt, but the water of one River is fitter for Burthen, than ſome other.

And

And in particular, when the Obeliske (which, rayſed by the command of *Sixtus Quintus*, is now to be ſeene in the *Piazza* of Saint *Peter*) was brought unto *Rome*; experience prooved, the water of *Tyber* was of more force, and firmeneſſe, than *Nilus* ſtreame. And *Seine*, a meane River in *France*, carries Ships ſo bigge, and beareth Burthens ſo weighrie, that none but eye-witneſſes would beleeve it; nor is there any River, which proportionably ſuſtaineth the like Burthens: ſo, that although it be but a meane River, it notwithſtanding miraculouſly ſupplyeth the Trade and Affaires of *Paris*; a Citie in people, and abundance of all things, excelling by many degrees all the other Cities of Chriſtendome. Here ſome may demand, whence

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is it, that one River is more portable than another? Some will have it to proceed from a terrestriall qualitie, which ingrosseth the water, and thickens it, and by consequence, makes it firme, and solid. This reason hath no opposition, but in that of *Nilus*, which hath his water earthie, and muddie; tearmed therefore in the Scripture (a troubled River) unfit to be drunke, if it be not well purged in Cisternes; and which not onely watereth and mollifieth *Ægypt* with his moisture, but also fructifieth and feedeth it with his fatnesse: Yet is it not (as well experience proveth) one of the ableſt to sustaine Ships, or other Burthens. Whereupon I should thinke, that for such effects, earthie grosseneſſe should not be so desired in water, as a certaine slyminesſe,

mineſſe, by which it is the better conglutinated and condenſed together, and therefore better diſpoſed, and more apt to guide and beare Burthens. But from whence proceedeth this his qualitie? From two things: Firſt, from his riſing, and paſſing by corrupt and groſſe Countries: For Rivers participating of the Earths qualities, (which affords them their Channell and Bankes) become fat, and of qualitie not unlike Oyle. Beſides alſo, from the ſlowneſſe, and ſhortneſſe of his courſe: For the length of paſſage, and ſwiftneſſe of Rivers, attenuateth and rarifieth the groſſeneſſe, diſſevers and diſſipateth the ſlymineſſe of water. Which falls out in *Nilus*: For hee running almoſt two thouſand miles directly, which by a crooked oblique

lique course, would be more; and falling from places exceedingly steepe, and head-long, (where, through the vehemencie and violence of his course, and through the unspeakable impetuousnesse of his fall, he is wholly, as it were, resolved into a little shower) so clarifieth and beates his waters, that soone they lose all their slymie qualitie: which propertie is meerely attributed to the Rivers of *Germanie*, and *France*; for they rising, and passing thorow flourishing and fruitfull Countries, are not ordinarily violent, and impetuous. Now this to be true, it is prooved by the water of *Seine*; wherewith, if one wash his hands, like Soape it cleaves to them, and cleanseth them marvellously from all manner of uncleannesse. But let us transferre

ferre our Diſcourſe, to Largeneſſe. This is neceſſarie in Rivers, and Channels, (of which we treat) to the end, Ships may commodiouſly turne and winde on this ſide, and that ſide, and give place one to another: But Largeneſſe, without Depth, makes nothing for our preſent purpoſe; for it diſſipateth and diſperſeth the water ſo much, that it reſts unprofitable for Navigation: Which happeneth to the River of *Plate*; who, for his infinite wideneſſe, is for the moſt part low, unequall in his Current, and full of Rockes and ſmall Ilands: For which like reaſon, the Rivers of *Spaine* are little Navigable; becauſe (it is true) their ſtreame is ſpacious, but ſcattered, uneven, and uncertaine: Let this ſuffice for Rivers. Then ſuch, and ſo great

being

being the Utilitie, which water importeth to a Cities greatneſſe; thoſe Cities aſſuredly are moſt commodious, which enjoy moſt Navigable waters; as thoſe are, that have a Sea-Haven apt for all Shippes; a River, and a Lake. It may ſeeme to ſome, that upon facilitie of Paſſage may be framed the foundation; rather, the abſoluteneſſe of a Cities greatneſſe: but they are deceived. There muſt beſides, be ſomething elſe, which may attract people, and make them concurre in ſome one place, more than in another. Where conveniencie of Paſſage is not, there can be no great multitude of people: which the Mountaines teach us; whereon, well wee may behold many Caſtles, and Villages, but no populous Habication, worthy to be enti-

tled Great. The reaſon is, becauſe for the roughneſſe of ſituation, things neceſſarie, and behoofefull for mans life, cannot be conveyed, without infinite toyle and travell. Neither for other cauſe, is *Fieſole* deſolated, and *Florence* frequented; but becauſe, that had a craggie ſcituation; this, is ſcituate on a Plaine. And in *Rome*, wee ſee the people to have abandoned *Aventine*, and ſuch like Hills, and to have retyred themſelves to the Plaine, and places more neere to *Tyber's* Banke; for the conveniencie which Plaines and Rivers bring to the Paſſage of Commodities, and Trade. Yet notwithſtanding, where the Paſſage is eaſie, and familiar, wee have not inſtantly ſeene any notable Citie. For, without doubt, the Port of *Meſſina* is by many de-

degrees, better than the Haven of *Naples*: yet *Naples*, if you have relation to the people, will make two *Messina's*. The Port of *Cartagena* excelleth, in many respects, that of *Genoa*; yet *Genoa*, on the contrarie, exceedeth *Cartagena* in People, Riches, and all things whatsoever. What Haven is more faire, safe, or spacious, than the Channell of *Tarento*? yet never hath there been any memorable Citie. What shall we say of Rivers? In *Peru* there is *Maragnon*; which is reported to runne (Oh Miracle!) six thousand miles long; being in the mouth, or entrance thereof, threescore, or rather more miles broad. There is also the River of *Plate*; which although not so farre extended, doth carrie much more plentie of water, and is said to be, in the mouth

thereof, an hundred and fiftie miles broad. In new *France*, is the River of *Canada*, five and thirtie miles broad in the entrance, and two hundred fathomes deepe. In *Africa* are huge Rivers; as, *Senega*, *Gambra*, *Coanza*; a River lately diſcovered, in the Kingdome of *Angola*, which is thought to be five and thirtie miles, in the mouth of it, without any notable inhabitation. Moreover, upon the Bankes of *Coanza*, thoſe ſavage Nations live in Cavernes and hollow Trees, accompanied with Cray-fiſhes, and Lobſters; which, without any perill, or dread, are tamed by them. In *Aſia*, although the River *Minan*, in that peoples Language, ſignifying the *Mother of Waters*; *Meicon* alſo Navigable, for more than two thouſand miles;

miles; *Indus*, and other royall Rivers, are well inhabited: yet *Oby*, which is the greateſt of them, (becauſe hee falleth into the *Scythique* Ocean, eightie miles broad; which maketh ſome ſuppoſe, that the *Caſpian* Sea is disburthened, by his courſe into the Ocean) hath no famous Citie. Beſides, if Conveniencie of Paſſage make up the greatneſſe of a Citie; why, on the Banke of one ſame River, where Paſſage is equally eaſie, is one Citie bigger than another? Without queſtion, facilitie of Paſſage of Trade will not ſuffice: there needeth, beſides it, ſome Vertue attractive, which may win, and invite, more to one place, than another.

THE CAVSE OF the Greatneſſe of CITIES.

The ſecond Booke.

CHAP. I.

E have hitherto ſpoken of the fitneſſe of Scituation, fertilitie of Land, facilitie of Paſſage for our Citie: Let us now enquire, what things thoſe are,

which may move the multitude (of their owne nature indifferent, to ſtay here, or abide there) to come rather to one place, than another; and how Trade of Merchandize may be brought rather hither, than thither. Firſt, diſcourſing upon the proper meanes of the *Romans*; and afterward, the meanes common to them, and other Nations.

Chap. II.

The proper meanes of the Romans.

THe firſt, was to open the Sanctuarie, and give libertie; which *Romulus* did, to the end the neighbour Territories, being then cruelly handled by the Tyrants, and

and the Countrey thereby replenished with Out-lawes; *Rome* might be peopled, through the benefit of securitie, there maintained. Neither was hee a whit therein deceived; for thither flocked infinite numbers of men, who either wanted habitation, or were nothing secure in their owne Countrey. Afterward, they being destitute of Women, necessarie for propagation, *Romulus* having proclaymed certaine solemne Feasts, stole thence the greatest part of the Maides there assembled. Whereupon it is no marvaile, if there sprung fierce and cruell men from so untamed a Nation. *Cosmo*, great Duke of *Thuscan*, to people *Porto Ferraio*, hath there settled Out-lawes, and confined many multitudes; who, for some misdemeanour, have de-

deserved exile. Which, Duke *Francis*, his sonne, hath since imitated, to people *Pisa*, and *Livorno*. But, as wee said before, Forat and Necessitie is not good to the generation and encrease of a Citie: For men enforced to abide in one peremptorie place, are as Seed cast into Sand, where it never taketh root. But let us returne to the Sanctuarie. It cannot be denyed, but that moderate libertie, and lawfull freedome, exceedingly availe, for the inhabitation of a Place: And therefore, free Cities ordinarily (equalitie of other things admitted) are more famous, and frequent, than Cities subject to Princes or Monarchies. The second meanes by which *Rome* encreased, was by making well-deserving Townes, called by them *Municipia*; capable

pable of free-denization, and their Magistracie: For, the honour to be Citizens of *Rome*, and to enjoy the ample Priviledges annexed thereunto, drew into the Citie all those, who by adherence, favours, or services done to the Common-wealth, might have any hope to beare Office, or execute Magistracie. And they who aspired not so high, resorted thither, at least to assist with their Suffrages, some Kinsman, Friend, or Patron, there dignified. Thus *Rome* was frequented, and enriched, by the concourse of many Noble, and wealthie Nations; who, either in particular, or in common, were honoured with *Roman* Freedome. The third meanes, were the dayly Objects wherewith the *Romans* fed mens Curiositie; which were a multitude

of

of admirable things, continually done in *Rome*: The Triumphs of Victorious Captaines, their marvellous Buildings, the Show of Sea-fights, the Combats of Fencers, the Baiting of ſtrange Monſters, the publique Playes, *Apollo's* Games, the ſecular Sports, and other like, performed with unſpeakable Oſtent, and Pompe, and ſuch other Allurements, which invited curious Spirits to *Rome*. So, that theſe Entertainments being (as it were) perpetuall, *Rome* thereby became continually repleat with forraine Nations.

CHAP.

Chap. III.

Of Colonies.

WHat shall wee say of Colonies? Whether were they a furtherance to *Romes* Greatnesse, or no? That they availed to the augmentation of Power, there is no question: But, whether they multiplyed thereby the number of Inhabitants, is a matter disputable. Yet, according to my understanding, they were a great helpe thereto: For, although it will seeme to some, that by the drawing out of men, to be transferred into Colonies, the Citie rather fell into diminution, than encrease; yet, perhaps, the contrarie may happen: because, as Plants cannot so well flourish

flouriſh or proſper in an Impebed, where they have beene ſet, as in an open place, tranſplanted; ſo men propagate not ſo ſucceſſefully, immured in the Circuit of a Citie, where they are borne, as in other parts, whither they are ſent. For ſometimes Peſtilence, or other contagious Maladies, conſumes them; ſometimie Dearth, and Famine, conſtraines them to change their Habitation; ſometime, Forraine Invaſions kills their moſt valiant Souldiers; ſometime, Civill Seditions enforce the quieteſt to flye their Countrey: from many, Povertie and Miſerie taketh minde, and meanes of Marriage, and Procreation. Now, thoſe who in *Rome* would have dyed in theſe occaſions; or ſhould have forſaken the Citie, or left no Houſe

or

or Posteritie behind them; being retyred into other places, did escape the former perils; and furnished in their Colonies with House and Land, married and had children: So they infinitely augmented; and of ten, became a hundred. But what (say some) importeth this? Let us suppose, if they who are sent into Colonies, cannot possibly, remaining at home, encrease their Countrey; how shall they do, departing thence? First, because the Colonies, with their Mother, make (as it were) one Body. Besides, because the affection of their Native Countrey, and the dependance (which in many kindes may exceedingly be encreased) and a desire, joyned with a hope to excell in Riches, and Honours, will alwayes attract thither the most gene-

generous, and neceſſarie men; whereby the Citie ſhall become the more populous, and opulent. Who will denie, but that the thirtie Colonies, iſſued (as it were) from one Stocke in *Alba Longa*, and the many numbers *Rome* ſet out, purchaſed Magnificence, and Greatneſſe, both to the one, and other? And, that the *Portugals* going out of *Lisbone*, to tyll and inhabite the Ilands of *Aſores*, *Cabo Verd*, and *Madera*, and divers others, hath ennobled and augmented *Lisbone* much more, than if they had never ſtirred. It is moſt certaine then, if Colonies muſt augment their firſt Nurſe; it behooveth, they be not farre diſ-joyned: otherwiſe, by diſtance, Love is leſſened, and Communitie diſſevered. Whereupon the *Romans*, by the ſpace

of

of six hundred yeeres, sent no Colonie out of *Italy*: and the first, were *Carthage*, and *Narbon*. And these were the meanes with which the *Romans* either onely, or principally, attracted Nations unto their Citie. Let us now handle the meanes generally common to other people. In which, it will not be dissonant, or distastfull, to begin with Religion; as that, which ought to be the foundation of all our endeavours.

Chap. IV.

Of Religion.

Religion, and the honour of God, is a matter so necessarie, and of such importance, that undoubtedly it

it inviteth the greater number of men, and Negotiation: And the Cities which in this kinde have had ſuper-eminence, and reputation above the reſt, doe alſo excell in Greatneſſe. *Jeruſalem* was (as *Plinie* writeth) inferiour to no Citie in the Eaſt, eſpecially for Religion; of which, it was the Head, as well as of the Kingdome. The High-Prieſts, Prieſts, and Levits, made reſidence there. Here Oblations were celebrated, Sacrifices were offered, and Vowes rendred to God. Here thrice in the yeere, all the people, in a manner, appeared: So that *Joſephus* reporteth, That at ſuch time as *Titus Veſpaſian* engirted it with a Siege, there were onely, in this Citie, two millions and a halfe of men: A thing aſſuredly miraculous; I had almoſt ſaid, incredible;

credible; especially, the Citie being little more, than foure miles in Circuit: But it is written by such, who easily might know it, and had no occasion to falsifie the truth. *Jeroboam*, after he was elected King of *Israel*, considering his Subjects could not live without the Exercise of Religion, and use of Sacrifices; and that if they went to sacrifice in *Jerusalem*, it would be an easie matter to re-unite them with the Tribe of *Juda*, and the House of *David*; expelling the use of Religion, hee brought in Idolatry, caused two golden Calves to be made, placed them in the utmost bounds of his Countrey, and said to the people: *Nolite ultra ascendere in Hierusalem; ecce Dii tui Israel, qui te eduxerunt de terra Ægypti.* Such is the force of Religion,

Religion, to encreaſe Cities, and enlarge Dominions: And it is of ſo attractive vertue, that *Ieroboam* unwilling to give place to his Competitors, in any point of allurement, or entertainment of the vulgar multitude, impiouſly brought in Idolatry, in lieu of Pietie. And he was the firſt, who to injoy a Kingdome, openly ſpurned at the Law, and reſpect due to God, giving preſident thereof to others: A matter truly, no leſſe fooliſh, than wicked. They who make profeſſion of State-Rules, (as they tearme it) and Wildome; ſuppoſe, that to retaine Subjects in obedience of their Prince, more may humane Reaſon, than Divine Power, availe; and the inventions (of I know not what kinde of creeping Wormes) than the favour of God: Theſe

are

are the ruines of Kings, plagues of Empires, ſcandales of Chriſtianitie, ſworne enemies of the Church; rather, of God: againſt whom, like the ancient Gyants, they reare a new *Babel*-Tower; which, in the end, will bring them ruine, and confuſion. *Qui habitat in Cœlis, irridebit eos; & Dominus ſubſannabit eos.* Hearken (O Princes) what the Prophet ſaith of *Pharao's* Councellors: *Sapientes conſiliarii Pharaonis dederunt conſilium inſipiens: deceperunt Ægyptum, angulum populorum ejus. Dominus miſcuit in medio ejus ſpiritum vertiginis, & errare fecerunt Ægyptum in omni opere ſuo; ſicut errat ebrius, & vomens.* If this place would permit it, I would eaſily demonſtrate, the greateſt part of the decay of States, and ſubverſion of

of Chriſtian Princes, is derived from this malediction: by which we are diſ-armed, and deprived of the protection and favour of God; and we have put Weapons into *Turkes*, and other enemies hands, and revenging Whips of Divine Juſtice againſt our ſelves. But it ſufficeth for this time, to adviſe Princes, who purſue this courſe of State-Rules; which trample the Law of God under foot, that they learne of their Maſter *Ieroboam*, and feare his fortunes; whoſe Plots they imitate. For, in revenge of his impietie, God rayſed the King of *Baaza* againſt *Nadab* his ſonne; whom ſlaying, he alſo extirpated his whole poſteritie. *Non demiſit, ne unam quidem animam de ſemine ejus, donec deleret eam.* But let us returne to our diſcourſe in hand.

How

How much Religion, and the poſſeſſion of ſome famous Relique, or notable Argument of Divine aſſiſtance, or ſome Authoritie in the adminiſtration and government of Eccleſiaſticall Affaires, availeth to the peopling of Places; *Lorretto* in *Italy*, Saint *Michael* in *France*, *Guadalupe*, *Manſerrate*, *Compoſtella* in *Spaine*, ſufficiently manifeſt; with many other places, although ſolitarie, and deſolate; although rough, and almoſt inacceſſible: where, for no other cauſe, but meerely for Devotion and Pietie, (maugre the Devill, and his Complices) inceſſantly, from farre ſeparated Provinces, concurre infinite Multitudes. And it is no wonder: for there is not any thing of more efficacie, or greater power, to invite or winne mens hearts, than God

our chiefeſt good. Hee is deſired, and ſought continually, as the laſt end of all animated and inanimated things. Things light, ſearch him above; heavie, in the Centre: The Heavens enquire him, in their circular revolution; Hearbes, in flouriſhing; Trees, in fructifying; Beaſts, in propagating; Man, in purchaſing content of minde, and felicitie. But becauſe God is of Nature ſo abſtruſe, that Sence apprehendeth him not; ſo radiant, that the Underſtanding ſees him not; every man converts himſelfe thither, where he leaveth any impreſſion of his Omnipotencie, or ſheweth any token of his aſſiſtance: which ordinarily hath beene ſeene, or may now be beheld, in Mountaines, or in Deſerts. Is not *Rome* then a Debtreſſe, for her exaltation to the blood of Martyrs,

Martyrs, to the Reliques of Saints, to the Sanctitie of Places, and to the Supreme Authoritie, in matters holy, and spirituall?. Would it not be a Desart, a Wilderneſſe, if the holineſſe of Places drew not thither infinite numbers of people, even from the remoteſt Confines of the Earth; if the Sea Apoſtolique, and Power of the Keyes, wrought not the confluence of innumerable multitudes, which otherwiſe have no occaſion to repaire thither? *Milan*, a Citie of ſuch importance, will eternally witneſſe, what ſplendour and encreaſe ſhee received from the Pietie and Religion of great Cardinall *Boromeo*: Princes came from the utmoſt limits of the North, to viſit him: Biſhops concurred from all parts, to conſult with him of their affaires:

Clericks, and Religious men of all Nations, held *Milan* for their Countrey; the Houſe of this holy man, for their Heaven; his liberalitie, for a ſupport; his life, for a conſpicuous Mirror of Eccleſiaſtique Diſcipline. Tedious it would be, to recount, with what excellencie hee celebrated every yeere the Dioceſle Synods; with what magnificence hee ſolemnized the Provinciall, every third yeere: How many Churches, either (new) he founded, or (old) he repayred: How many hee adorned, and beautified: What Congregations of men and women, he introduced: How many well-ordered Colledges of Youth: What Seminaries of Schollers he inſtituted: What Academique formes he invented, and founded, to the ineſtimable benefit

of

of the people: What manner of entertainment hee gave to Arts, and Artificers. Never should I conclude, if I would repeat the meanes with which he, amplifying the honour of God, and Religion, augmented also the Citie, and redoubled the number of people in *Milan*.

Chap. V.

Of Studies.

The commoditie of Studies, is an effectuall meanes to allure people, and especially young men, to the Citie (of whose Greatnesse we discourse:) For there being two wayes, by which the wittie and valorous aspire to degrees of Honour, and Reputation; the

one, of Armes; the other, of Bookes: That, is purſued in the Field, with the Lance, and Sword; This, in the Academie, with Bookes, and Pen. And, becauſe men are greatly inflamed with hope of Honour, or Profit; and inſomuch, as of Sciences, ſome import to a man certaine Riches; others, moſt ample Dignities: it is a matter of no little conſequence, that in our Citie, there be an Univerſitie, or ſuch a Colledge; where young men, deſirous to learne Vertue, and School-Documents, may have fit occaſion, rather to repaire thither, than to ſeeke out elſewhere: And this may bee had, if, beſides the benefit of Schooles, and Maſters, they may enjoy convenient Immunities, and Priviledges; in which may be allowed them, not Impunitie,

or Licence, to transgresse in all kind of Vices; but honest Libertie, to be able the more commodiously and quietly to attend their Studies. For verily, seeing Studies are not undertaken, without great toyle, and travell both of mind, and body; whereupon the ancient called the Goddesse of Science, *Minerva*; the reason whereof is, because the labour of speculation, weakeneth both the naturall forces, and sinewes, and the body tyreth and afflicts the minde, from whence melancholy, and pensiveneslie arise: it therefore is a matter not unreasonable, that all befitting Libertie be permitted them, which may maintaine them in mirth, and alacritie: But not in the dissoluteneslie, with which the Academies of *Italy* are fully replear: There,

Pennes are turned into Poignards; Inke-hornes, into Harquebuze-flaskes; Diſputations, into bloudy Brawles; Schooles, into Fencing-roomes; and Scholers, into Sword-men: There, Honeſtie is ſcorned, Shamefaſtneſſe reputed Diſhonour: So, that a young man, well inclined, ſpeedes well, if hee eſcape perdition. But let us leave complaints. That Univerſitie cannot flouriſh, where Armes and Gaming are not expelled. *Francis* the firſt, King of *France*, to the end the Schollers of the Univerſitie of *Paris*, which in his time were almoſt infinite, might have conveniencie of freſh Aire, and honeſt Recreation, aſſigned them a large Medow, neere to the Citie, and River; where, without diſturbance, they might Student-like diſport them: There, they Wraſtle,

Wraſtle, play at Barriers, Ball, Ballowne, hurle the Sledge: There, they Leape, and Runne, with ſuch pleaſure, that it delighteth the Spectators, no leſſe than themſelves: in which time, the horror of Armes, Cards, and Dicing ceaſeth. For which reaſons, it greatly importeth, that the Citie, where an Univerſitie is to be founded, be in an healthie Ayre, ſeated in a pleaſant and delightfull Soyle; where Rivers, Fountaines, and Woods are: for theſe things are, of themſelves, apt to recreate the mindes of Youth ſufficiently. Such were in former times, *Athens*, and *Rhodes*, where Learning and Sciences exceedingly flouriſhed. *Galeazzo Viſconte* was the firſt, who beſides theſe Entertainments, (infinitely deſirous to illuſtrate and people

Pavia) forbad his ſubjects, upon great penalties, to travell elſewhere to ſtudie: which many Princes of *Italy* have ſince imitated. But theſe are meanes ſubject to jealouſie. Honourable and magnanimous wayes, to retaine ſubjects in their Countrey, and to attract ſtrangers thither, are to allow them toleration of honeſt Paſtimes, and to maintaine plentie of Victuall; to preſerve their Priviledges, and to give them occaſion to affect Honour in Scholer-like Exerciſes; to take account of the beſt wits, and allow reward to their merit: and above all things, to draw thither Doctors of good fame and reputation: to whoſe Schooles, *Pompey* the Great diſdained not to goe; as erſt hee did repaire to the Schooles of *Rhodes*, when hee had ſubdued the

the East. But by a more deepe policie, *Sigismund*, King of *Poland*, interdicted, that any of his Vassals should goe out of his Kingdome, for Studies sake. The like, *Philip* King of *Spaine* lately hath done; to the end, the infection of Heresie, which in the dayes of King *Sigismund* began to creepe, and in our dayes is in such a height, through all the Septentrionall parts, might be extinguished.

CHAP. VI.

Of Judgement-Seats.

LIfe, Honour, and our Estates are in the hands of Judges: for, Love and Charitie failing in all parts, Violence, and Covetousnesse, in ill-disposed

diſpoſed men, augmenteth. From whoſe rancour, if Iudges protect us not, ill-will be the fruit of our endeavours. For this cauſe, Cities where Royall Audiences are, Senates, Parliaments, or any ſort of ſupreme Tribunall Seats, neceſſarily are frequented; as well for the concourſe of people, which ſtands in need of Juſtice, as for the very manage of common State; which cannot be adminiſtred, without great Aſſemblyes, Preſidents, Senatours, Advocates, Proctors, Soliciters, Notaries, and ſuch like. And that which more importeth, Juſtice is not executed at this day, without diſburſement of readie Money. Now, there is not any thing more effectuall, to make confluence of people, than currantneſſe of Money: The Adamant is not of ſuch force,

force, to attract Iron to it, as Gold, to turne the eyes and mindes of men hither and thither. The reason is, because (virtually) it comprehendeth all greatnesse, all commoditie, all worldly good: and who hath Money, may well be said to possesse all which the World affordeth. Now, as for the plentie of Coyne, which the administration of Justice bringeth with it; if Metropolitan Cities cannot have the whole manage of Civill and Criminall Causes; at the least, they may reserve the weightiest Suits, and Appeales. This may well be done, by the Rules of State; (of which, Judiciall Authoritie is a principall member, whereby Princes become Patrons both of the life and abilities of their subjects) but, as wee before said, regard must

muſt alſo be had of Utilitie. This much availeth every where; but eſpecially, where they proceed in judiciall matters, according to the common uſe of the *Roman* Lawes: For this is a more tedious way, and needeth more Officers to execute it, than other Lawes. In *England*, *Scotland*, and elſewhere, as in *Turkie*, where a ſhort compendious courſe is taken, and as it were ſtanding upon one foot, the forme of proceeding there, little helpeth to a Cities greatneſſe: For in one after-noone, by expreſſe force of Witneſſes, Suites are decided, and moſt weightie Cauſes concluded. There, ſo many Termes, ſo many Prorogations, are not allowed; ſo many Inſtruments, ſo many Proceſſes, ſuch Officers, and Soliciters: in few ſtroakes, they come

to the quick: So that the time, expence, and number of persons is much inferiour to what the *Roman* Lawes require. Yet will I not therefore conclude, that Sentence is delayed, and Suites made everlasting; although I must needes say, they are tedious: And that, in execution of Justice, Delay, which cannot be excused with diligence, or care, not to commit Errors, is not altogether free of Injustice. In our Citie, then, it will be of great importance, there be place for Pleas, and a Supreme Judgement-Seat.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of Induſtrie.

THere is not any thing more importeth to encreaſe a Citie, and to make it plentifull in Inhabitants, and abundant in all things, than the Induſtrie of Man; and multitude of Arts. Of which, ſome are neceſſarie; ſome, commodious for civill life; ſome are deſired for pompe, and ornament; other, for pleaſure, and entertainment of idle perſons: from whence, follow plentie of Coine, and of People; who either labour, or vent what is wrought; or ſupply matter to the induſtrious, by buying, ſelling, and tranſporting from one place to another, the moſt curi-

ous

ous and artificiall Workes, both of the wit and hands of Man. *Selym* the first, Emperour of *Turky*, to people and enworthie *Constantinople*, causeth many thousands of excellent Artificers to passe thither; first, from the Royall Citie of *Tauris*; and afterward, from Great *Cairo*. Neither was this point ill understood by the *Polanders*: for when they elected *Henry*, Duke of *Anjou*, for their King; amongst many Requests they made unto him, one was, hee would bring with him an hundred Families of Artificers. But because Art contendeth with Nature, some will aske me; Whether Fertilitie of Land, or Industrie of Man, importeth more to make a place Great, or populous? Industrie, assuredly. First, because Manufactures framed

med by the skilfull hand of Man, are more in number, and price, than things produced by Nature: for Nature giveth matter, and ſubject; but the Curioſitie, and Art of Man, addeth unſpeakable varietie of formes. Wooll, from Nature, is a rude and ſimple Commoditie: What faire things, how various, and infinite, doth Art make out of it? What, and how great profit ariſeth from the endeavour of them, who Card it, Worke it, Spinne it, Weave it, Dye it, Full it, Sheare it, forme it in a thouſand manners, tranſporting it from one place to another? Silke, is a ſimple fruit of Nature: What varieties of pleaſing Stuffes doth Art make of it? This cauſeth the excrement of a moſt wretched little Worme to be eſteemed of Princes, prized

zed of Queenes; and finally, to be honoured by every one. Moreover, much greater numbers of people live by Industry, than Revenue: which well is approoved by many Cities of *Italy*; but especially, *Florence*, *Genoa*, and *Venice*; of whose Greatnesse, and Magnificence, it is impertinent to dilate: yet here, by the Trade of Woolł, and Silke, two thirds of the people are maintained. But who seeth not this, in all matters? The Revenues drawne out of the Mines of Iron, are not very great: but by the profit derived from the labour and traffique of that Iron, many multitudes live; who digge it, purge it, melt it, sell it in grosse, by retayle; who make Engines of Warre of it, Armes of Defence, and Offence, innumerable Workes for use of Tillage,

Tillage, Architecture, and for many other Arts, for dayly occaſions, and ſundry neceſſities of life, which need Iron no leſſe than Bread for ſuſtentation. In ſuch ſort, that he who compareth the Revenues which the Lords and Patrons of Mynes extract, with the Gaine the Artificers derive, and Merchants by Induſtrie make, (whereby Princes alſo, by way of Cuſtomage, are enriched) ſhall finde, that Induſtrie farre exceedeth the benefit of Nature. Compare the Marbles, with the Statues, Coloſſuſſes, Columnes, Borders, and infinite other Labours, taken. Compare the Timber, with the Galleyes, Galleons, Ships, and other Veſſels of many ſorts, both of Warre, Burthen, and Pleaſure: Compare alſo the Timber, with the Statues, the Fur-

Furnitures for Building, and other things innumerable, which are built with the Plane, Chesill, and Turners-Wheele. Compare the Colours, with the Pictures; the price of them, with the value of the workmanship; and you shall well perceive, how much Labour and Industrie excell the matter wrought; (*Zeuxes*, an excellent Painter, gave his Works for nothing; because, Nobly, he said they could not be purchased with any price:) and how much better people may live by the meanes of Art, than the immediate benefit of Nature. Such is the force of Industrie, that there is no Mine of Silver, or Gold, in New *Spaine*, or *Peru*, which may be equalled with it. Yea, of greater value is the Impost of the Trade of *Milan*, to the Catholique King, than the Mines

Mines of *Zacatica*, or *Zalixco*. *Italy*, is a Province, in which there is not a Mine of Silver, or Gold, of any importance; nor in *France* likewiſe: Yet, notwithſtanding, both the one and the other abound in Money, and Treaſures, by the aſſiſtance of Induſtrie. *Flanders* hath no Veines of Mettall; yet whileſt it enjoyed the benefit of Peace, for the many, divers, and marvellous Workes made there by Art, and exact Workmanſhip, it envied not the Mines of *Hungaria*, or *Tranſilvania*; nor was there a Countrey in all *Europe*, or in the World beſides, where there were ſo many Cities, ſo great, and ſo frequented by Forrainers. So, that worthily, for the incomparable Treaſures which *Charles* the Emperour received thence, ſome rearmed

med theſe Provinces, the *Indies* of his Majeſtie. Nature induceth her formes into the firſt matter, and humane Induſtrie faſhioneth upon the naturall compound, artificiall formes, without end: for, Nature is to the Artificer that, which the firſt matter is to the naturall Agent. The Prince, then, who is deſirous to make his Citie populous, ought to bring in all ſorts of Arts, and Induſtrie; which may be effected, by drawing excellent Artificers from other parts, and by giving them entertainment, and allowing them convenient accommodations; by taking notice of the beſt Wits, and eſteeming the Inventions, and Workes, which ſavour of ſingularitie, or raritie; and by propoſing reward to perfection, and excellencie. But above all,

it

it is moſt neceſſarie, hee ſuffer not raw Stuffes, Woolls, Silkes, Timber, Mettals, nor any other ſuch things to be conveyed out of his Dominions; becauſe, commonly, with the Stuffes, the Workemen, who make them, depart. A more indifferent and profitable courſe it is, the Artificers come where the matter is, than the matter goe where the Artificers are: Beſides, a much greater number liveth of the Stuffe wrought, than of the ſimple matter. The Revenues of Princes, likewiſe, are much more augmented, by the vent of Workes, than by the rude matter: As for example; of Velvets, more than of raw Silke; of Raſhes, than of Woolls; of Linnen Cloth, than of Flaxe; of Ropes, than of Hempe. Which of late yeeres, the Kings of

France

France and *England* well obſerving, prohibited the tranſportation of Wooll forth of their Territories: Which alſo, ſince that time, the King of *Spaine* hath imitated. But theſe Orders cannot ſufficiently bee performed on a ſuddaine: For theſe Provinces abounding with incredible plenty of fine Wooll, there are not ſo many Workemen to worke and weave them all: And although (perhaps) the fore-named Princes did this, becauſe the Profit and Impoſt rayſed on Woollen Cloth, is much greater than that which is derived of raw unwrought Wooll; yet for the peopling of a Countrey, it is of the ſame force: The reaſon whereof is, becauſe many more live upon Wooll wrought, than doe of it, as it is ſimple of it ſelfe; from

whence, Riches and Greatneſſe of Kings enſueth: The multitude of people being that, which maketh a Countrey fertile; and which, by Hand, and Art, addeth to naturall matter many thouſand of formes.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Immunitie.

PEople, in theſe our dayes, are ſo taxed by their Princes; induced thereunto, partly, by Avarice; partly, by Neceſſitie: that whereſoever any the leaſt hope is diſcovered them, of Freedome, or Immunitie; thither they greedily repaire. Which is proved, by the frequentation of Faires, and Marts, and the infinite concourſe

course of Merchants, and people thither; for no other cause, but that they are free, and exempt from Impositions, and Taxes. In our dayes, the Royall Citie of *Naples*, by the Exemptions and Freedomes allowed the Inhabitants, is notably augmented in Buildings, and People; and much more would have beene, if for the discontentment and private grudges of the Barons, whose Territories were disfurnished of people, or some other such reason, the Catholique King had not severely interdicted them, to build there any more. The Cities of *Flanders* have beene the best merchandizing, and most frequented Townes of *Europe*: If you would search the occasion, you shall finde it was (amongst other Causes) through the Freedome from

Tollage; for the Merchandize that came thither, and was vented forth, (and there came in, and went out very much) was ſcarcely charged with any. All they likewiſe, who have founded new Cities, have neceſſarily, to procure confluence of people, graunted moſt ample Immunities, and Priviledges, at the leaſt to the firſt Inhabitants. The like have all thoſe done, who have reſtored Cities deſolated by the Plague, conſumed by Warre, or afflicted by any other Scourge of God. The Infection which vexed *Italy* almoſt three yeeres, mentioned by *Boccace*, was ſo cruell, that from *March* to *July*, it tooke out of the World, in *Florence* onely, almoſt an hundred thouſand Soules: It alſo killed ſo many in *Venice*, that it became

almoſt

almoſt a Deſart. Whereupon thoſe Seigniors, to get it re-inhabited, made proclamation; by which, they gave Freedome to all ſuch, who comming thither with their Families, would there abide for two yeeres ſpace. The *Venetians* alſo, more than once, have freed themſelves from extreme Famine, by promiſe of Freedome to any, who would bring in Victuall.

CHAP. IX.

Of having the power of ſome Trade of moment.

TO have ſome great Trade in hand, will alſo very much availe, to attract people to a Citie; which may be, either by the be-

nefit of the Land, where it wholly groweth; or, for the moſt part; or, for the excellencie of it: Wholly; as Cloves, in the *Molucca's*; Incenſe, in *Saba*; *Balſamum*, in *Paleſtina*, or elſewhere: For the moſt part; as Pepper, in *Calicut*; Cinnamon, in *Zeilan*. For the excellencie thereof; as Salt, in *Cyprus*; Sugar, in *Madera*; Wooll, in many Cities of *Spaine*, and *England*. There is alſo excellencie of Workemanſhip; which for qualitie of Water, for dexteritie of Inhabitants, for ſome hidden ſecret of the ſame people, or other ſuch like cauſe, is more particularly eminent in one place, than in another: as, Armes and Weapons in *Damaſco*, and in *Sciras*; Tapiſtrie, in *Arras*; Raſhes, in *Florence*; Velvets, in *Genoa*; Cloth of Gold, and Silver,

ver, in *Milan*; Scarlets, in *Venice*. To the which purpoſe, I will not omit to tell you, that in *China* almoſt all Arts, and Sciences, are in the height of excellencie, for many reaſons; but amongſt other, becauſe the Sonnes are bound to uſe the Trade of their Fathers. Whereby they being borne (as it were) with full propenſion towards their Fathers Craft; and the Father not concealing any thing, but inſtructing them with all affection, endeavour, diligence, and care; Arts are reduced to the moſt ſuper-eminent degree of beautie, and compleatneſſe, can poſſibly be deſired. Which well may be perceived by thoſe little Commodities, tranſported from *China*, to the *Philippina's*; from the *Philippina's*, to *Mexico*; and from *Mexico*, to *Sivill*.

But let us returne to our purpoſe. Some other Cities are Maſters of ſome great Traffique; not, becauſe the Commoditie groweth in that Countrey, or is wrought by the Inhabitants; but becauſe they have Dominion, either over ſome Countrey, or over ſome bordering Sea: Dominion over ſome Countrey; as, *Sivill*; where arrive the infinite Riches of New *Spaine*, and *Peru*: Dominion over ſome Sea; as, *Lisbone*; which, by this meanes, draweth unto it the Pepper of *Cochin*, the Cinnamon of *Zeilan*, and other Riches of the *Indies*; which cannot be ſayled unto, but from their Port, or by their Safe-conduct. Even in the ſame manner (almoſt) *Venice*, ſome ninetie yeeres paſt, was (as it were) the Miſtreſſe, and Lady of Spices:

Spices: For these being brought (before the *Portugals* possessed the *Indies*) by the Red Sea, to *Sues*; and from thence, upon Camels backes, to *Cairo*; and afterward, by *Nilus*, to *Alexandria*: There, they were brought up by the *Venetians*, who sent their great Galleyes thither; and to their infinite profit, distributed them, almost, thorow-out all *Europe*. Now, this Trade is (as it were) wholly converted to *Lisbone*: where, by a new way, the Spices, taken out of the hands of the *Moores*. and *Turkes*, are yeerely transported by the *Portugals*; and afterward, sold to the *Spaniards*, *French*, *English*, and all the North parts. And of such value and importance is this Trade of the *Indies*, that it alone sufficeth to enrich *Portugall*, and to make

it plentifull in all things. Some other Cities there are, alſo Miſtreſſes of Trades, and Traffiques, for their commodious ſcituation for many Nations, to which they ſerve for Treaſuries, and Store-houſes. As in the Eaſt, *Malacca*, and *Ormus*; in the Mediterranean, *Alexandria*, *Conſtantinople*, *Meſſina*, and *Genua*; in the North Ocean, *Antwerpe*, *Amſterdam*, *Danzitch*, *Narve*; and in *Germanie*, *Franckford*, and *Norimberg*: in which Cities, many and great Merchants have their Warehouſes; whither the neighbouring Countries reſort afterwards, to furniſh themſelves of all things neceſſarie, invited by the Conveniencie of Paſſage. And this conſiſteth in the capaciouſneſſe, and ſafetie of Ports; in the opportunitie of Gulphes, and

and Armes of the Sea; in Navigable Rivers, which reach unto the Citie, or runne neere unto it; in Lakes, Channels, and Ships; in Wayes, and Paſſages, plaine, and ſecure. And, to the purpoſe of Wayes now ſpoken of, I cannot omit, that the Kings of *Cuſco* (called in their Language, *Inghe*) have made, in proceſſe, and continuance of time, two Cauſe-wayes, two thouſand miles long; ſo delightfull, ſo commodious, ſo plaine, ſo ſtraight, that I hold them nothing inferiour to the *Roman* Greatneſſe. There, are to be ſeene craggie Mountaines levelled, deepe Valleyes filled, horrid Rockes cut thorow, Trees on both ſides, orderly, in equall Rankes planted; which afford, both with their ſhadow, recreation, and with the warbling

prattle

prattle of Birds, there inceſſantly ſinging, unſpeakable delight to Travellers. Nor are there wanting Innes, and Lodgings, abounding with all neceſſarie things; nor Pallaces, which ſcituate in eminent places, make (as it were) with equalitie of proportion, faire oſtentation of their excellencies: not beautifull Townes, not pleaſant Villages, not a thouſand other Delights, to feed the Eye with varietie, and the Minde with admiration of infinite effects; partly, produced by Nature; partly, by Humane Induſtrie. But returning to our purpoſe in hand, it will much availe, that the Prince well underſtand the naturall Conveniencie of the Scituation, and judiciouſly endeavour to better it, by Art: As for example; by accommodating the

the Port, with Wharfes; by making easie, and familiar, the Lading and unlading of Merchandize; by keeping the Sea secure, from Pyrates; by making the Rivers Navigable; by building convenient and capacious Storehouses, for any great quantitie of Merchandize; by making the High-wayes straight, and levell, as well over Plaines, as Mountainous places. Wherein, the Kings of *China* merit much prayse: For, with infinite expence, they have levelled all the Wayes of that famous Kingdome; built Bridges of Stone, over large and spacious Rivers; cut thorow Mountaines of inestimable height, and roughnesse, and paved the Plaines with Free-Stone: so that, no lesse in Winter, than in Summer, one may easily travell, either

ther on Foot, or Horſe-backe; and expeditely convey Merchandize, on Carts, or Beaſts of Burthen. And in this point, aſſuredly, many Princes of *Italy* exceedingly faile; in whoſe High-Wayes, in Winter, Horſes are killed, and Carts are drowned in myre: So, that the conveyance of Commodities is made uneaſie; and the Journey which ſhould be diſpatched in one day, is ſometimes ſcarcely performed in three, or more. And no leſſe troubleſome Paſſages are in many parts of *France*; as in the Province of *Ponthieu*, *Zantoigne*, *Beoſſe*, *Burgoigne*. But this is no place, nor diſcourſe, to paſſe our cenſure upon ſo famous Territories. Let us proceed.

CHAP.

Chap. X.

Of Dominion.

A Moſt important thing to purchaſe Greatneſſe to a Place, is Dominion: For this implyeth, dependence; dependence, concourſe; and concourſe, Greatneſſe. Into Cities, which hold Seignorie and Principalitie over others, publique Riches and private Abilities by divers Arts are reduced: There, the Embaſſadours of Princes, the Agents of Comminalties, doe meet: There, Cauſes of greateſt conſequence, Criminall, and Civill, are argued: There, Appeales are made: There, the Affaires of men of Qualitie are treated; the Buſineſſes of Communities, and private

vate perſons are handled: There, the Revenues of State are collected, and there expended: There, the principall and wealthieſt Citizens of other parts ſeeke Alliance, and ſettled Habitation. From all which cauſes, plentie of Coyne ariſeth; a moſt effectuall Bayt, to invite and procure Merchants, Artificers, and Tradeſ-men of all ſorts to haſten thither, from farre diſtant Countries. So, the Citie augmenteth, by little and little, in magnificence of Buildings; multitude of People, and abundance of all things, and encreaſeth, to the proportion of its Dominion. Which is prooved by all thoſe Cities, that have had or preſently enjoy any notable Juriſdiction; *Piſa, Siena, Genoa, Lucca, Florence, Breſcia*, whoſe Territories are extended a hundred

dred miles long, and forty miles broad; containing, beſides fertile Plaines, many important Valleyes, many Boroughes, many Townes, which exceed a thouſand fires; and yeelding in all, neere three hundred and fortie thouſand people. Such are in *Germanie*, many free and imperiall Cities; *Norimberg*, *Lubec*, *Ausburg*. Such was in *Flanders*, *Gaunt*; where, the chiefe Standard being diſplayed, there were muſtred together a hundred thouſand fighting men. I ſpeake not here of *Sparta*, *Carthage*, *Athens*, *Rome*, *Venice*; whoſe Greatneſſe hath beene ſo much augmented, as their Dominions were extended: Which was ſo farre, that to omit the reſt, *Carthage*, in her exaltation, was in compaſſe twentie foure miles about, and

Rome

Rome fiftie; beſides Suburbes, which were innumerable: For, from one ſide, they extended to *Oſtia*; from the other, even to *Otricoli*; and on every ſide, they poſſeſſed goodly Tracts of Land. But let us paſſe further: For to this Chapter alſo appertaineth all, which ſhall a little after be treated, of the Reſidence of the Prince.

Chap. XI.

Of the Reſidence of the Nobilitie.

AMongſt other meanes, by which the Cities of *Italy* are ordinarily greater, than the Cities of *France*, or any other part of *Europe*; this is a matter of no ſmall

ſmall importance; that in *Italy*, the Gentlemen inhabit in the Cities; in *France*, they dwell in their Caſtles, which are Pallaces for the moſt part environed with Ditches filled with Water, with ſtrong Walls, and with Turrets, able to ſuſtaine a ſuddaine aſſault. And although the *Italian* Seigniors, themſelves, dwell alſo magnificently, in their Countrey Pallaces, as well may be ſeene in the diſtant Counties of *Florence*, *Genoa*, and *Venice*, fully repleat with Buildings; for worthineſſe of matter, and for excellencie of workmanſhip, fit to adde honour to a Kingdome, much more to a Citie: notwithſtanding, theſe Buildings are univerſally more Lordlike, and frequent in *France*, than in *Italy*; becauſe the *Italian* divideth his expence, and care,

care, partly, in the Citie, partly, in the Countrey; and a much greater portion alloweth hee to that, than to this. But the *Frenchman* imployeth all his abilitie in the Countrey; and little or nothing careth he for the Citie; where, an Inne commonly ſufficeth him. Now, the abode of Noblemen in Cities, illuſtrates them, and maketh them more populous; not onely, becauſe their Perſons and Families remaine there: but beſides, for that a man of Qualitie ſpendeth more largely, and liberally, for the concurrence, and emulation of others, in Cities, where hee ſeeth, and is dayly ſeene of Honourable Perſons; than in the Countrey; where he liveth among Beaſts, and converſeth with Clownes, goeth clad in Ruſſet, and home-ſpun Cloth;

Cloth; whereby, neceſſarily, Buildings encreaſe, and Arts are multiplyed. For this cauſe, the *Ingha* of *Peru*, deſirous to ennoble, and make Great, his Royall Citie of *Cuſco*, commanded, not onely, that the *Caciques*, and Barons, ſhould inhabit it; but moreover, willed, every one ſhould there build his Pallace: which they performing thorow-out the Citie, in emulation of one another, it, in a ſhort time, tooke infinite encreaſe. The like thing, in our dayes, many Dukes of *Lombardie* have attempted. *Tigranes*, King of *Armenia*, when he founded the Great *Tigranocerta*, enforced many Gentlemen, both Honourable, and Rich, to transferre themſelves thither, with all their goods; cauſing alſo proclamation to be made, That all ſuch goods

goods as were not thither brought, ſhould, were they elſewhere found, be confiſcated. And this is the cauſe, why *Venice*, at the firſt, notably encreaſed, in a very ſhort time. For, they who retyred from the Neighbour-Countries, into the Ilands, where it is (as it were) miraculouſly ſcituate, were both Noble, and Wealthie; and thither tranſported, with them, all their Abilities: With which, through the benefit and opportunitie of the Gulph, applying themſelves to Navigation, and Trade; in ſhort time, they became Lords and Patrons of the Cities, and bordering Ilands; and with their Wealth, ſuddainely ennobled their Countrey with ſtately Edifices, and ineſtimable Treaſures: and have finally brought it to that Greatneſſe,

neſſe, and Power, wherein wee now behold and admire it.

Chap. XII.

Of the Reſidence of the Prince.

For the ſame cauſes, mentioned a little before, in the Chapter of Dominion, the Reſidence of a Prince infinitely availeth, to enlarge and make great a Citie, to the greatneſſe of whoſe Empire, it proportionably encreaſeth. Becauſe, where the Prince reſideth, there are the Parliaments, or Senates, (tearme them which you will) kept; the Supreme Tribunals of Juſtice, the Privie Councels, and of State: There, concurre all the Affaires of importance,

portance, all the Princes, all the Perſonages of worth, the Embaſſadours of Common-wealths and Kings, the Agents of Tributarie Cities: Thither ſpeedily haſten all ſuch as aſpire to Offices, and Honours: Thither the Revenues of State are conveyed, there diſburſed: Which eaſily may appeare, by the examples of almoſt all the Cities of importance, or fame. *Ægypt* was a moſt ancient Kingdome; the Princes whereof, ſeated themſelves, partly, in *Thebes*, partly, in *Memphis*; by which meanes, thoſe two Cities arrived to notable greatneſſe, and beautie: For *Thebes* (Poetically tearmed by *Homer* the Citie of an hundred Gates) was in compaſſe (as *Diodorus* writeth) neere ſeventeene miles; beautified with moſt ſtately Buildings, both

both publique, and private, and fully repleniſhed with people: To which, *Memphis* was little inferiour. In the ſubſecuting Ages, the *Ptolomei* ſettled their abode in *Alexandria*; which, thereby, augmented in Edifices, People, Reputation, and ineſtimable Riches: and the other two Cities (which by the ruine of that Kingdome, fell firſt under the *Chaldeans*; after, under the *Perſians*, being much diminiſhed) were utterly deſolated. The *Soldans* afterward abandoning *Alexandria*, retyred themſelves to *Cairo*; which, by this meanes, became, in few Ages, ſo populous, that very juſtly it hath purchaſed the ſurname of, *Great*. The *Soldans*, becauſe, for the innumerable multitude, they held not themſelves ſecure, if perchance ſo huge and nume-

rous a people ſhould raiſe Commotions againſt them; divided it, with large and deepe Ditches of Water; ſo, that it ſeemed not one whole Citie, but many Townes, co-united together. It is ſaid, there are ſixteene thouſand, or (as *Arioſto* writeth) eighteene thouſand great Streetes, which nightly are locked up with Iron Gates: it may containe, in circuit, eight miles; in which ſpace, becauſe they live not in ſo ſpacious Roomes as we doe; nor ſo commodiouſly, but for the moſt part, low upon the ground, and (as it were) heaped and thruſt together; there are, thereby, infinite multitudes: The Plague, in a manner, never forſaketh them; but every ſeventh yeere, is very ſenſibly felt: and if there dye not, with the infection thereof,

above

above three hundred thousand, it is held but a sport. In the time, and Empire of the *Soldans*, that Citie was reputed sound, and healthfull, when there dyed not dayly more than a thousand people. And so much may suffice to be spoken of *Cairo*, which at this day is celebrated thorow-out the World. Let us proceed further. In *Assyria*, the Kings made their Residence in *Ninive*: Whereby, it became foure hundred and eightie furlongs in circuit, which are sixtie miles; and in length, a hundred and fiftie furlongs, as *Diodorus* writeth. Then, could there not be (besides this) but huge Suburbes; thorow which, as the Scripture recordeth, was three dayes journey. The Residence of the *Chaldean* Kings, was in *Babylon*: This Citie was, in

compaſſe, foure hundred and eightie furlongs, as *Herodotus* reporteth; the Walls were fiftie cubites broad, two hundred and more in height. *Ariſtotle* maketh it much greater: For he writeth, it was commonly reported, That *Babylon* being ſurprized, one part of the Citie was three whole dayes ignorant thereof: It had a hundred Gates, all of Braſſe; it had a Citadell, or Fortreſſe, which was in circuit twentie furlongs: the people were ſo infinite, that they preſumed to take Armes againſt *Cyrus*, the moſt potent King of *Perſia*. *Semiramis* founded it, but *Nabuchodonozor* marvellouſly augmented it. It being afterward ruined, in the *Scythians* inundation, and by other Nations in thoſe parts, it was reedified by *Bugiſar*, a Caliph of the

the *Saracens*; who there expended eighteene Millions of Crownes. *Iovius* writeth, That yet, at this day, it is bigger than *Rome*, if you reſpect the circuit of the old Walls; but now there are within them, Woods, for Game, and Hunting; Fields, for Tillage; pleaſant Walkes, and ſpacious Gardens. The Kings of *Media*, reſided in *Ecbatana*; the *Perſian*, in *Perſepolis*: of whoſe Greatneſſe, there is no argument, but upon meere conjecture. In our dayes, the Kings of *Perſia* have made their abode in *Tauris*: and as their Empire is not ſo large, as heretofore; ſo, in like manner, their capitall Citie is not ſo great: Notwithſtanding, it is in circuit ſome ſixteene miles; although ſome report it, more. It is very long, it hath many Gardens, and is

without Walls; a matter almoſt generally common to all the Cities of *Perſia*. In *Tartaria*, and the Orientall *Aſia*, by meanes of the power of thoſe potent Kings, there are greater Cities, than in the other parts of the World. The *Tartars* enjoy, at this day, two mightie Kingdomes; the one, is the *Tartar Mogor*; the other, the *Catayans*. The *Mogor* hath of late, incredibly extended his Dominion: For *Mahumud* the Prince, not ſatisfied with his ancient Confines, hath poſſeſſed (of late yeeres) in a manner, all that Tract, which lieth betweene *Indus*, and *Ganges*. The Metropolis of the *Mogor*, is *Samarcanda*: which was infinitely enriched by Great *Tamberlan*, with the ſpoyles of all *Aſia*; where hee, like to a horrible Tem-

Tempeſt, or Ruine-threatning-Thunderbolt, depopulated the moſt ancient and famous Cities, and violently carryed thence their Riches; and to ſpeake of no other, hee ſent onely out of *Damaſco* eight thouſand Camels, laden with prey, and things the moſt precious. This Citie hath beene of ſuch Greatneſſe, and Power, that in many ſeverall Relations may be read, it alone could ſet forth ſixtie thouſand Horſe: Now, it is not of ſuch worth, or magnificence, by the diminution of the Empire: For, as after the death of Great *Tamberlan*, it was ſuddainely divided into many parts by his ſonnes; ſo it hath likewiſe, in our dayes, beene diſtracted alſo by the ſonnes of *Mahumud*, who laſtly ſubdued *Cambaia*. But, becauſe I have

made mention of *Cambaia*; know, there are two memorable Cities in that Kingdome; the one, is *Cambaia*; the other, *Citor*. *Cambaia* is of ſuch greatneſſe, that it hath given Name to the Province. Some write, it hath a hundred and fiftie thouſand Fires; which, allowing (as the uſe is) to every Fire, five perſons, amounteth to little leſſe than eight hundred thouſand inhabitants. Some, report it much leſſe: But howſoever, it is a famous Citie, Metropolis of a rich Kingdome, and the Seat of a moſt powerfull Prince; who, in the Expedition againſt *Mahumud*, King of the *Mogors*, brought into the Field five hundred thouſand foot, and an hundred and fiftie thouſand Horſe; of which, thirtie thouſand were armed, after the faſhion of our men

men of Warre. *Citor* is in com-passe twelve miles; and is a Citie so magnificent with Buildings, so delightfull with Prospects, so repleniſhed with varieties, that few other equall it; and therefore tearmed of that people, the Canopie of Heaven. It was, in our time, a Citie, where the Queene of *Cremen-tina* reſided; who rebelling against the foreſaid King of *Cam-baia*, was by maine force deſpoyled her Dominions, in the yeere 1536. The Emperour of the *Catayan Tartars* (vulgarly tearmed the Great *Cham* of *Cathaya*) draweth his Pedigree from Great *Chingi*; who was the firſt, that iſſuing forth of *Scythia Aſiatica*, with greatneſſe of Enterpriſes, and valour of Armes, illuſtrated (ſome three hundred yeeres ſince) the Name

of the *Tartars*; for he ſubjugated *China*, made Tributarie the greateſt part of *India*, ſhooke *Perſia*, and terrified *Aſia*. The Succeſſors of this great Prince, make their abode in the Citie of *Cambalu*; a Citie no leſſe magnificent, than great: for it is ſaid to be in circuit eight and twentie miles, beſides Suburbes; and of ſuch Trade, that beſides other Merchandizes, there enter into it every yeere neere a thouſand Carts, laden with Silke, conveyed thither from *China*: Whereby may be underſtood, the Greatneſſe of Trade, the Riches of Traffique, the varietie of Arts, the multitude, pompe, magnificence, and curioſitie of the inhabitants. Let us now enter into *China*. There never hath beene Dominion (I ſpeake of united Kingdomes, and as

one

one would ſay, of a part) any one greater, more populous, rich, or abundant in all things, than *China* is; nor which hath beene more royally maintained, for ſo many Ages. From hence it comes, that the Cities, in which the Kings have made their Reſidence, are the largeſt that ever have beene in the World: and thoſe, are three; *Suntien*, *Anchin*, and *Panchin*. *Suntien* (for as much as I can underſtand) is the moſt ancient and Metropolis of a Province, called *Quinſai*; with which Name alſo, oftentimes, they entitle the Citie. It is ſcituate (as it were) in the Eaſterne bounds, in a huge Lake, made by foure royall Rivers, which in it diſburthen their Waters; whereof, the moſt celebrated, is *Poliſango*. This Lake is full of little Ilands;

Ilands; for pleaſure of Scituation, for freſhneſſe of Ayre, for proſpect of Houſes, for curioſitie of Gardens, exceedingly delightfull: the Bankes thereof are enamel'd with Verdure, and apparel'd with Trees; wooed, and dallyed with cleare Streames, and deepe Fountaines, and adorned with magnificent Pallaces. The mouth of this Lake is, in his wideſt largeneſſe, foure leagues broad; but in ſome other place, exceedeth not two leagues. The Citie is diſ-joyned, from the entrance of the River, about eight and twentie miles: it is an hundred miles in circuit. The Streets, and Paſſages, both by Land, and Water, are large: The Land-wayes all paved, and beautified with many faire Bankes, to ſit on. The chiefeſt Chan-

Channels, are about fifteene; with Bridges so high, and stately, that Shippes with full sayle passe under them; the principall whereof, cutteth thorow the middle of the Citie, and is little lesse than a mile broad: with about some eightie Bridges; than which, nothing may be beheld more delightfull, or commodious. Tedious it would be, should I here expresse all might be said of the largenesse of Market-places, of the magnificence of Pallaces, of the beautie of Prospects, of the innumerable multitude of Inhabitants, of the infinite concourse of Merchants, of the inestimable number of Shippes, and Vessels, chequered, and beautified with Ebonie, and Ivorie, and in-layed with Gold, and Silver; of the incomparable Riches which continually enters in,

in, and iſſueth out: finally, of the Delicacies, with which this Citie is ſo repleat, that it well deſerveth the proud Name of the Citie of Heaven. Yet are not *Anchin*, and *Panchin*, much inferiour to it. But, becauſe we have made mention of *China*, it cannot bee much from our purpoſe, to relate here the greatneſſe of ſome other her Cities, according to the report had, untill this. *Canton* then, (which is the moſt knowne, yet none of the biggeſt) the *Portugals*, who have thither a good Trade for many yeeres of late, confeſſe it to be greater than *Lisbone*, which aſſuredly is the biggeſt Citie in *Europe* (*Paris* and *Conſtantinople* onely excepted.) *Sanchieio* is reported to be three times bigger than *Sivill*, which is ſixe miles in compaſſe: Yet, is *Te-*

chicio

chieia ſaid to exceed it in greatneſſe. *Chienchieio*, although it be one of the meaneſt, yet ſeemed it, to the *Auguſtine* Fryers, who beheld it, a Citie of ſeventie thouſand Fires. Neyther ought theſe things ſeeme incredible to any: for (beſides, that the Relations of *Paulus Venetus* affirme matters much greater) they are at this day ſo evident, by the reports of both Secular and Religious perſons, continually, and from all the *Portugals*; that to denie it, would rather proove a man to be fooliſh, than ſhew him to be judicious. But, for the entertainment, and ſatisfaction of Readers, it ſhall not be a matter burthenſome to me, to examine the true and lively Reaſons, from whence it comes to paſſe, that *China* is ſo populous, and repleniſhed with ſo admi-

admirable Cities. Let us ſuppoſe then, that either by the benignitie of Heaven, or by ſome hidden, and to us unknowne influences of Starres, or for ſome other reaſon whatſoever, that part of the World, Orientall to us, hath (I know not what) Vertue much greater, in the production of Rarities, than others: whereby many excellent things grow in thoſe happie Regions, of which other parts are altogether deprived. Such is Cinnamon, Nutmegs, Cloves, Pepper, Camphire, Saunders, Incenſe, Aloes, Nuts of *India*, and other ſuch things. Beſides, the Commodities common to the Eaſt, and Weſt, are univerſally more perfect, and abſolute there, than here; as doe well witneſſe the Pearles, Gold, Diamonds, Emeralds, and Bezer Stones:

Stones: for the Pearles of the Weſt, in compariſon of the Orientall, are as Lead, in compariſon of Silver: the Bezer Stone likewiſe, which from *India*, is of much greater worth, than that which is brought from *Peru*. Now, *China* is the moſt Eaſterly part, that ever hath bin knowne, of the World; whereby it enjoyeth all thoſe perfections, which are attributed to the Orient. And firſt, the Ayre, (than which, there is nothing, that more availeth life) aided by the proximitie of the Sea, (which, for the moſt part, encompaſſeth, and, as it were, dallyeth, and with a thouſand Boſomes, and Channels, very inwardly penetrateth this Province) is there, generally, temperate. The Countrey alſo (univerſally) plaine, and of Nature moſt

moſt apt for the production of all Delicacies; yea, of all things neceſſarie for the uſe and ſuſtentation of life. The Mountaines, and Hills, are perpetually clad with Trees of all ſorts, part wild, part fruitfull. The Plaines covered with Rice, Barley, Wheat, and Pulſe. The Gardens (beſides other ſorts of our Fruits) afford well-taſting Melons, moſt delicate Plummes, ripe Figges, Citrons, and Oranges of diverſe formes, and excellent taſte. They have alſo an Hearbe, from whence they draw a delicate Liquor, which they uſe in ſtead of Wine; but it preſerveth them ſound, and free from thoſe miſchiefes, which the immoderate uſe of Wine uſeth to bring. They abound in Hearbes, and flockes in Birdes, and Beaſts of Chaſe, Wooll, and

preci-

precious Skins, Cotton Woolll, Flaxe, and infinite store of Silke. There are Mynes of Gold, and Silver, and of excellent Iron: There, are most orient Pearles: There, plenteously groweth Sugar, Honey, Reubarbe, Champhire, Vermilion, Woad, Muske, Aloes, *China* Roots; Porcellane Dishes are not elsewhere extant. Rivers also, and Waters of all sorts, scowre and passe thorow these Countries, to the unspeakable commoditie of Navigation, and Tillage. Besides, the Water is no lesse fertile of Fish, than the Earth of Fruits; for both Rivers, and Sea, yeeld infinite plentie of them. To this such fertilitie of Land, and Water, is added the incredible diligent Culture, both of the one and the other element; by which meanes, all use is made of them, that

that poſſibly may. Which proceed from two cauſes: the one, is the ineſtimable multitude of Inhabitants; (for it is thought, that *China* containeth more than threeſcore Millions of Soules) the other, is the exceeding Induſtrie uſed, both by the Commons, in Tilling, and making the beſt advantage of their Labours; and by the Magiſtrates, in prohibiting, by a Law, any man to be idle, or unimployed: So, that there is not a hand-bredth of Land untilled. Of their Arts, then it is impertinent to ſpeake; for there is not a Country where they more flouriſh, both for varietie, and excellencie. Which proceedeth of two cauſes: The firſt, is what a little before was ſpecified, (that every one is enforced to doe ſomething) yea, the blind, the maimed, the lame,

if

if they be not altogether impotent: and Women, by a Law of *Vitei*, King of *China*, are bound to use their Fathers Trade, or at least (how Noble or great soever) to attend the Distaffe, and Needle. The other cause, is; That the Sonnes, necessarily, must learne their Fathers Craft: whereby commeth to passe, that Artificers are infinite; and Children, even newly borne, and Girles, can doe some kind of worke: with the Bones of Dogs, and other Beasts, they make Sculptures, as we with Ivorie; of Rags, and shreds of Linnen, they make Paper; whereby Arts are lifted to the height of perfection. They suffer nothing to perish vainely: with the Dung of Buffles, Bullocks, & other Beasts, they feed their Fishes. Finally, such is the plenty and variety of the

the fruits of the Earth, and of the induſtrie of man, that they ſtand in need of no other Countrey, yet affoord to ſtrangers great plentie of their owne Commodities. And, to ſpeake of no other, the quantitie of Silke which is tranſported from *China*, is not credible: There is ſent three thouſand *Quintayles*, from *India* to *Portugall*; there are laden fifteene Ships, for the *Philippina's*; there is conveyed to *Giapan*, an ineſtimable Summe; and to *Cathaia*, ſuch plentie, as may well be underſtood by that we have mentioned before, to be brought yeerely into *Cambalu*: And they ſell their Workes, and Labours, (through the infinite multitude they make) at ſo good a price, that the Merchants of New *Spaine*, who buy them

them at the *Philippina's* (where the *Chinoes* traffique) become marvellous rich. By meanes whereof, the Trade of the *Philippina's* proveth rather hurtfull than beneficiall to the King of *Spaine*: for the goodneſſe of Penny-worths, cauſeth the people of *Mexico* (who were formerly provided of many Commodities of *Spaine*) to furniſh themſelves ſufficiently, in all reſpects, at the *Philippina's*. But his Majeſtie, for the deſire hee hath to tame theſe people, enſnared in the horrible darkneſſe of Idolatry, and by this meanes to bring them to our holy Faith, and the Boſome of the Catholique Church, makes no account of that loſſe. By theſe things may be ſeene, that *China* hath the meanes, partly, from Nature, partly, from Humane Induſtrie,

to ſuſtaine infinite people: and that for theſe Reaſons, it is credible, it may be as populous as I have mentioned. Now I adde, that it is neceſſarie it ſhould be ſo, for two reaſons: the one, becauſe it is not lawfull for the King of *China*, to commence Warre, to conquer new Provinces, but to defend his owne Territories; whereby it comes to paſſe, it enjoyeth (as it were) a perpetuall Peace; than which, nothing is more plentifull, and fertile. The other Reaſon, is; for that it is not tolerable for the *Chino's* to travell forth of their Countrey, without licence of the Magiſtrates. So, that the numbers of people perpetually multiplying, and not iſſuing out; it is neceſſary, that their number be ineſtimable; and by conſequence, the Cities exceeding great,

great, the Townes infinite; rather, all *China* to be (as it were) one continued Citie. Verily, wee *Italians* dote too much on our ſelves, and are too partiall admirers of our owne worths; when wee preferre *Italy*, and her Cities, before all the other parts of the World. The figure of *Italy*, is long, and ſtraight; and withall, divided in the middeſt with Mount *Appennine*: ſo that the ſcarcitie of Navigable Rivers, ſuffers not, there be any very great Citie. I omit alſo to ſay, that our Rivers are but Brookes, in compariſon of *Ganges*, *Menan*, *Meacon*, and divers other; and that the *Tirrhenian*, and *Adriatique* Seas, are Gulphes, in reſpect of the Ocean: and conſequently, our Trades meere Miſeries, in reſpect of the Traffique of *Cat-*

tan, *Malaca*, *Calicut*, *Ormus*, *Lisbone*, *Sivill*, and of other Cities, ſcituate on the Ocean. Adde alſo, to what is ſaid; that the contrarietie and hatred betweene the *Mahumetans*, and us, almoſt utterly deprives us the Commerce of *Africa*; and, for the moſt part, from the Traffique of the Eaſt. The beſt parts alſo of *Italy*, to wit, the Kingdome of *Naples*, and the Dukedome of *Milan*, are ſubject to the King of *Spaine*; the other States, are meane, their capitall Cities, but indifferent. But it is now time to returne, from whence wee departed. Such is the efficacie and force of the Reſidence of Princes, that this is alone ſufficient to conſtitute and found Cities in an inſtant. In *Æthiopia* (*Franciſco Alvares* writeth) there is no Citie,

Citie, (although it be a moſt ſpacious Countrey) which exceedeth ſixteene hundred Fires, and yet there are but few of this Greatneſſe. Notwithſtanding, the King (called by them the Great *Negho*, and of us falſely *Preſter John*) having no ſettled Reſidence, onely with his Court maketh a huge Citie. For whereſoever hee remaines, hee taketh up many miles, with an innumerable multitude of Tents, and Pavillions. In *Aſia*, the Cities of any account, have beene Seats and Manſions of Princes; *Damaſco*, *Antiochia*, *Angori*, *Trebiſond*, *Burſia*, *Jeruſalem*. But let us paſſe into our *Europe*. The tranſlation of the Imperiall Seat, leſſen'd *Rome*, and made *Conſtantinople* great; which is maintained in its magnificence, and majeſtie, by the Reſidence

of the Great *Turke*. This Citie ſtandeth in the moſt faire and commodious Scituation of the World. It is placed in *Europe*, but hath not *Aſia* diſtant above foure hundred paces. It commandeth two Seas; the *Euxine*, and the *Propontis*: that, is in compaſſe, two thouſand ſeven hundred mile; this, is diſtended more than two hundred mile; untill it arrive, where it is conjoyned with the *Archipelagus*. The times cannot be ſo troubleſome, nor broken, that Navigation, and the paſſage of Trade may be hindered, to this magnificent Citie, from the one or the other Sea. If it had a royall, and Navigable River, it wanted nothing: it containeth in circuit thirteene miles, and in this compaſſe, comprehendeth about ſeven hundred thouſand per-

persons. But the Plague causeth every third yeere, an infinite Mortalitie; and is, in a manner, never out of it. It is a matter worthie consideration, from whence it proceedeth, that the said infection is there so notably every third yeere (as in *Cairo* every seventh) like to a Tertian Fever, especially the Citie being seated in so healthie a place. But let us deferre this speculation to another time, or leave it for the discourse of a better wit. There are within *Constantinople* seven Hils; there is on that side which turnes to the East, upon the Sea-banke, the *Saraglia* of the Great Seignior, the walls whereof are three miles about; there is the *Arsenall*, of more than a hundred and thirtie Arches. Finally, it is a Citie, for beautie of

Scituation, for conveniencie of Haven, for commodiouſneſſe of Sea, for multitude of Inhabitants, for Greatneſſe of Traffique, for the Reſidence of the Great *Turke*, which juſtly may challenge the firſt place amongſt all the Cities of *Europe*; for the Court only of that Prince, conſiſting as well of Foot, as Horſe, maketh no leſſe than thirtie thouſand armed men. In *Africa*, *Argier*, lately become Head of a great State, is very populous; *Tremiſen*, when it flouriſhed, made ſixteene thouſand Fires; *Tunis*, nine thouſand; *Marocco*, a hundred thouſand: *Feſſe*, now the Seat of the moſt potent King of *Africa*, threeſcore and five thouſand. Amongſt the Kingdomes of *Chriſtendome*, (I ſpeake of united, and one entire Body) the

the greateſt, the moſt populous, and richeſt, is *France*; for it affordeth ſeven and twentie thouſand Pariſh Churches; and feedeth more than fifteene Millions of men: it is ſo fertile, by the benefit of Nature; ſo rich, by meanes of the peoples Induſtrie; that it envieth no other part, or Countrey in *Europe*. The Reſidence of the Kings of ſo worthy a Nation, for theſe many yeeres, hath beene in *Paris*: whereby is come to paſſe, that *Paris* is the greateſt Citie in *Chriſtendome*. It is in circuit twelve miles: it containeth about foure hundred and fiftie thouſand people; feeding them with that plentie of Victuals, with that affluence of all delicacies, that who hath not viſibly beheld it, can ſcarcely imagine it. The Realmes of *England*,

Naples, *Portugall*, *Boheme*, the Earledome of *Flanders*, and Dukedome of *Milan*, are in one degree almoſt of Greatneſſe, and Power. Therefore alſo, the Cities, where the Princes of the ſaid Countries have made their Reſidence, are (as it were) neere to an equalitie; *London*, *Naples*, *Lisbone*, *Praghe*, *Milan*, *Gant*; which Cities ſeverally, in each, afford little more, or leſſe, than a hundred and threeſcore thouſand Soules. It is moſt certaine, that the Traffique of *Æthiopia*, *India*, *Braſil*, maketh *Lisbone* ſomewhat greater than the reſt; and the revolutions of the *Low-Countries*, the Citie of *London*; and in theſe laſt thirtie yeeres, *Naples* is encreaſed almoſt as much more. In *Spaine*, there is not any Citie of ſuch greatneſſe; partly, becauſe it hath been, even untill

untill this preſent, divided into many little Kingdomes; and through want of Rivers, and Waters, cannot convey ſuch quantitie of Victuals into any one place, that an extraordinarie number of people may be there maintained. Notwithſtanding, the Cities of the beſt reputation, and moſt magnificence, are thoſe, where the ancient Kings and Princes have held their Seat; *Barcelona, Saracoſſa, Valentia, Corduba, Toledo, Burgos, Leon*; all honourable Cities, and very populous: but ſuch they are, that they exceed not the ſecond degree of the *Italian* Cities. Beſides which, there is *Grenada*; where the *Moores* have long time ruled, beautifying it with many and rich Buildings. It is ſcituate, partly, on Mountaines; partly, on the

Plaine; the mountainous part is divided into three Hills, one from another: it aboundeth with water of all ſorts, with which the greateſt part of this fertile Province is watered; and thereby is well inhabited, and manured, more than any other Territorie. *Sivill* is infinitely augmented, ſince the diſcoverie of the New World; for, there arrive the Fleets, which thither yeerely bring ſuch plentie of Treaſure, as is almoſt ineſtimable. It is in compaſſe ſome ſixe miles; it containeth foureſcore thouſand perſons, and more. It ſtandeth on the left ſhore of *Batis*, by the moderne name called *Quadalquibir:* It is beautified with many faire Churches, and magnificent Pallaces; it hath a Territorie, no leſſe pleaſant, than fertile. *Vaglio-*

dolid

dolid is no Citie, but may ranke in degree with the moſt Noble Cities of *Spaine*, for the Reſidence which the Catholique King there long made: As at this time, *Madrid* encreaſeth, and continually multiplyes; by the Court the King very much hath made in that place: which is ſo effectuall, and forcible, that although the Countrey be neither aboundant, nor the Territorie pleaſant, it draweth unto it ſuch multitudes of people, that it is become, of a Village, one of the hugeſt populations of *Spaine*. *Cracovia* and *Vilna*, are the beſt inhabited Cities of *Poland*: the reaſon is, becauſe, that was the Seat of the Dukes of *Poland*; this, of the great Dukes of *Lithuania*. In the *Moſcovite* Empire, are three great Cities, *Volodimeria*, the great

great *Novoguardia*, and *Moſco*; for they all three have beene Seats of great Dukes, and the Metropolis of large Dominions; at this day, *Moſco* is the moſt celebrated, for the Reſidence of the Prince: it is almoſt five miles long, but not ſo large; it hath a great Caſtle, which ſerveth for Court, and Pallace, to this Prince; and is ſo populous, that ſome nominate it amongſt the foure Cities of the firſt degree of *Europe*, which in their opinion are, *Conſtantinople*, *Paris*, *Lisbone*, and *Moſco*. In *Sicily*, anciently, the faireſt and greateſt Citie, was *Siracuſe*; which, as *Cicero* writeth, conſiſted of foure parts, divided among themſelves, each of which might be accounted a good Citie: and the reaſon of the greatneſſe thereof, was, the Reſi-

Reſidence that the Kings, or Tyrants, call them which you will, did there make. But afterward (the Trade of *Africa* failing, by the inundation of the Infidels) the Royall Citie was transferred to *Palermo*; whereby the one as much encreaſed, as the other decayed. *Palermo* is a Citie, equall to the Cities of the ſecond ranke of *Italy*, furniſhed with rich Churches, ſtately Pallaces, and divers Reliques and Edifices, rayſed by the *Saracenes*: But, moſt worthy of note, are two moderne things; the one, is the Street that croſſeth thorow the Citie, ſo famous for ſtraightneſſe, largeneſſe, length, and beautie of Buildings, that I know not, whether in all *Italy* the like may be found: the other, is the Mole, made with ineſtimable expence; by the benefit

nefit and aid whereof, the Citie hath a capacious Haven: a Building, truly, worthy the *Roman* Magnificence. But why ſhould I extravagantly wander thorow all the other parts of the World, to demonſtrate how much the Abode and Reſidence of a Prince importeth to a Cities greatneſſe? *Rome*, the Metropolis of the World, would it not be more like a Deſart, than a Citie; if the Pope reſided not there, and with the greatneſſe of his Court, the concourſe of Embaſſadours, Prelates, and Princes, he made it not great; if, with the infinite number of men of all Nations, who ſtand in need of his Authoritie, and his Miniſters, it were not peopled; if, with the magnificence of Buildings, Aquiducts, Fountaines, Streets, it were not ennobled;

if,

if, in ſo many worthy Workes, appertaining, partly, to the honour of God, partly, to Civill Government, there were not expended a great part of the Churches Revenue: And, if with theſe things, finally, there were not drawne together, and mutually entertained infinite number of Merchants, Tradeſmen, Artificers, Workmen, and many multitudes of men of labour and ſervice?

THE

THE CAVSE OF the Greatneſſe of CITIES.

The third Booke.

THe ancient Founders of Cities, conſidering, that Lawes and Civill Diſcipline can difficultly be obſerved, where there are infinite numbers of people, multitude breeding confuſion, limitted the number of Citizens; beyond which proportion, they judged, Order and forme

forme could not be maintained; a matter ſo much deſired in their Citie: Such were, *Licurgus*, *Solon*, *Ariſtotle*. But the *Romans* imagining, that Power (without which, a Citie cannot long perſiſt) conſiſteth, for the moſt part, in the multitude of people; aſſayed by all meanes to encreaſe and people their Countrey; as wee have before demonſtrated in this Treatiſe, and will explicate more fully, in our Bookes of State-Affaires. If the World would be governed by Reaſon, and every man willingly reſt content with that, which juſtly belongs to him; then would, aſſuredly, the judgement of the ancient Law-makers be worthy to be embraced. But experience, which ſheweth us, that by the corruption of Humane Nature,

ture, Force prevaileth above Reaſon, and Armes in all points yeeld unto Lawes; teacheth us alſo, that the judgement of the *Romans* deſerves to be preferred before the opinion of the *Grecians*; ſo much the rather, for that we behold, the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians* (to ſpeake of no other Commonwealths of *Greece*) fell into ruine, by a little diſcomfiture, and loſſe of a thouſand and ſeven-hundred Citizens, or thereabout; and on the other ſide, the *Romans* conquered, though they loſt the greateſt part of their Armies, and Enterpriſes: For it is a matter moſt evident, that more *Romans* died in the Warres of *Pyrrhus*, the *Carthaginians*, the *Numantines*, *Viriatus*, *Spartacus*, and *Sertorius*, and in other ſervices, than were

ſlaine

ſlaine (without compariſon) of the enemies: yet notwithſtanding, with all this, they remained Victors, by reaſon of their unexhauſted multitudes; with which, added to their ſurviving ſouldiers, they excelled their adverſaries, although moſt fierce and couragious, no leſſe in number, than valour.

In the preceding Bookes, we have diſcovered the meanes, with which a Citie may be rayſed to the moſt eminent height of greatneſſe, that may be deſired; ſo that nothing remaineth more to be ſaid: Nevertheleſſe, not for neceſſitie of the Argument, but for ornament of this Worke, wee will conſider,

From

From whence it proceedeth, that Cities encreaſe not by proportion.

LEt no man beleeve, the foreſaid meanes, or any other, which may bee found out, can make a Citie encreaſe infinitely. It is aſſuredly a matter worthie conſideration, from whence it commeth, that Cities arrived to a certaine height of magnitude, and power, can paſſe no further, but either firmely abide therein, or elſe fall back againe. Let us take *Rome* for an example: This, in the beginning, was founded by *Romulus*; (as *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* writeth) it contained three thouſand three hundred men, fit to beare Armes. *Romulus* reigned

ſeven

ſeven and thirtie yeeres ; in which ſpace,the Citie multiplyed unto fortie ſeven thouſand fighting men. Under *Servius Tullus* , after the death of *Romulus*, about ſome hundred and fiftie yeeres, were reckoned up in *Rome* foureſcore thouſand, fit for Warlike imployment. Finally, the number, by little and little , amounted to the ſumme of foure hundred and fiftie thouſand men. Then doe I demand, Whence is it , that the people of *Rome*, from three thouſand three hundred men of Warre, arrived to foure hundred and fiftie thouſand ; and from foure hundred and fiftie thouſand,paſſed no further ? Likewiſe, for foure hundred yeeres agoe, *Milan* and *Venice* afforded as many men , as now they doe : whereby appeareth,the encreaſe goes

goes no further. Some answer, the Plague, Warre, Dearth, and other like occasions, are the cause. But that satisfieth not: for Plagues and Infections have alwayes beene; Warres, were much more frequent, and bloudie, in former Ages, than in our dayes: For then, they came in an instant to handy-strokes, and to give battell; where, were slaine a greater multitude, in three or foure houres, than now in many yeeres; the service being reduced from the Field, to the Walls; where, more the Mattock than the Sword is imployed. Besides, the World hath never beene without interchangeable alteration of Plentie, and Dearth, Healthie constitution, and infectious Plague. Neither is it pertinent to my purpose, to produce examples thereof,

thereof, for Hiſtories are full of it. Now, if with all theſe accidents, Cities begun with few people, arrive to a vaſt multitude of Inhabitants; from whence is it, that they proceed not by a proportionable encreaſe? Some affirme, it is becauſe God, the Moderator of all things, ſo diſpoſeth. No man doubteth thereof: Yet, becauſe the infinite Wiſdome of God, in the adminiſtration and government of Nature, uſeth ſecond Cauſes; I aske, with what meanes that eternall Providence maketh the ſmall number multiply, and giveth limits and bounds to the greater? For anſwer of which queſtion propounded, I may ſay, that the ſame demand may be made of all humane kind: becauſe it being (three thouſand yeeres agoe)

multi-

multiplyed from one Man and Woman ſo much, that all the Provinces of the firme Land, and Ilands of the Sea, were filled; how is it come to paſſe, that from thoſe three thouſand yeres hitherward, this augmentation hath taken no further progreſſion? But let us reſolve this doubt in Cities, for thereby it will be reſolved in the World. Wee ſay then, that the encreaſe of Cities proceedeth, partly, from the Vertue generative of men, partly, from the nutritive force of thoſe Cities: the generative, without doubt, which alwayes is the ſame, at leaſt, from three thouſand yeeres hitherward: For, as apt are men in theſe dayes for generation, as they were in the times of *David*, or *Moſes*: Whereupon, if there were no other impedi-

ment, the propagation endleſſely would multiply, and the encreaſe of Cities be without limit. But if it proceed no further, it behoveth us to ſay, it is wrought by the defect of nutriment, and ſuſtentation. Now, Food is imported either from the Territorie of our Citie, or from other Countries; ſo, that if a Citie would encreaſe, it behooveth, Victuall be thither brought from farre. To cauſe that Victuall be thither brought from farre; it is neceſſarie, the Vertue attractive be ſo great, that it ſurmount and overcome roughneſſe of Places, height of Hills, depth of Valleyes, ſwiftneſſe of Rivers, perils of Sea, trecheries of Pyrates, inſtabilitie of Windes, greatneſſe of Expence, badneſſe of Wayes and Paſſages, envie of Neighbours,

hatred of Enemies, emulation of Competitors, length of Time, which is required for Conduct; the Dearth, and ſcantineſſe in places, from whence Merchandize is to be conveyed; naturall hate of Nations, contrarietie of Sects, and ſuch like, which take encreaſe, according as the people and the affaires of the Cities multiply, become finally ſuch, and ſo great, that they exceed all diligence, and humane induſtrie: For, how ſhall it ever be brought to paſſe, for Merchants, to tranſport Corne (for example) from *India*, or *Cathaia*, to *Rome*; or from the *Romans*, thither? and when the one and the other may effect it, who will aſſure them, the yeerely Voyages ſhall be alwayes happie; that the people ſhall ſtill abide in peace; that the

paſſages ſhall be perpetually open, and the wayes ſecure: or that any forme, for tranſportation of Victuals to *Rome*, can be found out, by ſuch ſpace and diſtance of Land; ſo that they who bring it, may endure the toile, and maſter the expence thereof? Now, one of the ſaid difficulties, if not many together, which may be oppoſed, is ſufficient to drive the people from a Citie, needfull of aſſiſtance, and ſubject to ſo many chances, and accidents. A Dearth, a Famine, a Warre, an interruption of Affaires, and Traffique, a deceit of Merchants, and other ſuch like, will enforce them (as the Winter doth Swallowes) to ſeeke another Countrey. The greatneſſe of Cities, ordinarily, is fixed in this, how they may commodi-

ouſly

ouſly be preſerved; but greatneſſe, which dependeth on cauſes remote, or ill diſpoſed meanes, little laſteth: For, everie one ſeeketh for conveniencie, and facilitie. There may be added alſo to the former; That great Cities are much more ſubject to Dearth, than little; becauſe they need a greater quantitie of Victuals: They are alſo ſubject to the Plague; for the infection more eaſily faſteneth there, and with greater mortalitie: finally, they are ſubject to all the difficulties repeated by us, becauſe they ſtand in need of more. So, although men were as apt for generation, in the height of *Romes* greatneſſe, as in the beginning thereof; yet the multitudes of people augmented not, by proportion: for the Vertue Nutri-

tive of the Citie, had no force to paſſe any further; becauſe the inhabitants, in proceſſe of time, not having greater commoditie of Victuals, either never married; or, if they married, their Children, through miſerie, or neceſſitie, came to nothing; but forſaking their Countrey, endeavoured to better their fortune, by tranſmutation of place. Which miſchiefe, the *Romans* deſirous to prevent, made choiſe of many poore Citizens, and ſent them into Colonies; where, like Trees tranſplanted, they might better their Eſtates, live more commodiouſly, and ſo might multiply. For the ſame reaſon, Mankind being encreaſed to a certaine multitude, hath not proceeded any further: (and for three thouſand yeeres ſince, and more, the World was

as

as fully repleat with men, as now at this preſent:) For the fruits of the Earth, and abundance of Victuall, comports not with greater number of people. Men begin to be propagated in *Meſopotamia*, and augmenting by little and little, they expatiated here and there; and having repleniſhed the Continent, they paſſed to the Ilands of the Sea, and from our parts, by little and little arrived at thoſe Countries, which wee entitle, the New World. Beſides, there is not any thing, for which men fight more furiouſly, than for Territorie, Food, and conveniencie of Habitation. The *Swethians* reputed it a great glorie for them, to depopulate their Confines, for many hundred miles. In the New World, the people of the Iland of *Dominico*

and the bordering parts, goe to the Hunting and Chaſe of Men, as wee of Harts, or Hares; feeding themſelves with their fleſh. The like doe many people of *Braſile*, eſpecially they, who are called *Aymures*; they dismember, and devoure Children, and living Infants; they rip up the bellies of Women great with Child, pulling thence the little Creatures, and in preſence of their Parents, gourmandize them, roſted upon Gredyrons; a matter truly horrible to imagine, much more to behold. The people of *Ghinea*, enforced by povertie, doe at a baſe low price dayly ſell their Children to the *Moores*; who transferre them over to *Barbary*, and to the *Portugals*; who lead them into their Ilands, or ſell them to the *Caſtilians*, in the New World.

The

The like alſo doe the people of *Peru*; who for little, or nothing, give their Children to any will have them: which, certainely, proceedeth from their miſerie, and inabilitie to feed and maintaine them. The *Tartars*, and the *Arabians*, live by Robberie: The *Naſamonians*, and *Cafres*, a moſt barbarous people of *Æthiopia*, live upon the ſpoyles of ſhipwrackes, as the *Portugals* have found by experience. Beſides, it is a thing well knowne, how many times the *Galles*, the *Germans*, the *Gothes*, the *Hunnes*, the *Avari*, the *Tartars*, and divers other Nations, not being able, through the infinite multitude of people, to live in their owne Countrey, have gone out of their Confines, and poſſeſſed others Provinces, with the utter extirpation of the In-

habitants. Whereby is happened, that in few Ages, almoſt all the Territories of *Europe*, and *Aſia*, have beene poſſeſſed by ſtrange and forraine Nations; iſſued from their Habitations, either for the ſuperfluous and ſuper-aboundant multitude of their people, or out of a deſire to lead a life more commodious, and plentifull. The infinite number of Theeves, and Robbers, from whence, for the moſt part, growes it, but from Penurie? Differences, and Suits, from whence proceed they, if not from the ſtrict narrowneſſe of Confines? Limits, Ditches, Hedges, and other Defences, made and uſed about mens Poſſeſſions and Livings; the guarding of Vines, and ripe Fruits; Gates to Houſes, Maſtives and Bandogs tyed there; what may all this

this inferre, but that the World is straitned to our desires, and necessities? What shall wee say of Armes, of so many sorts? What shall wee say of Warres, both by Sea, and Land? of Forts built on Bridges, and Passages? What, of Walls? *Severus* the Emperour, with a Wall more than eightie miles long, in *Britanie*, separated the *Roman* Province from the unconquered people. The Kings of *China*, with a Wall above six hundred miles long, freed their Dominion from the *Tartars*. There may also be added to the former Causes, Sterilitie, Dearth, unauspicious Influences, contagious Diseases, Pestilences, Earthquakes, inundations of the Sea, of Rivers, and other such Accidents; which depopulating now a Citie, now a Kingdome; then one

one Nation, ſtraight another; hinder the numbers of men, immoderately to encreaſe.

The Cauſes that preſerve the greatneſſe of a Citie.

IT remaineth onely, that having brought our Citie to the Greatneſſe, which the condition, and other circumſtances of Scituation, remembred before in our Diſcourſe, can afford; Diligence may be uſed, in the conſervation and maintenance thereof: to which, Peace, Juſtice, and Plentie, are helpefull; for, Juſtice ſecureth every one in his owne; by Peace, Tillage, Trade, and Arts flouriſh; by Plentie of Victuals the ſuſtentation of life is made eaſie; and nothing retaineth the people

ple more merry, and chearefull, than the cheapeneſſe of Bread. Finally, all thoſe things which cauſe Greatneſſe, are likewiſe the apteſt meanes to preſerve it: For the Cauſes of the production of things, and conſervation of them, are aſſuredly the ſame.

FINIS.